

9429

A
COLLECTION
OF THE
OCCASIONAL PAPERS
For the Year 1716.

With a P R E F A C E.



L O N D O N :

Printed for *J. Knapton*, at the Crown in *St. Paul's Church-Yard* ; *J. Harrison* under the *Royal Exchange* ; and *A. Dodd*, without *Temple-Bar*. 1716.

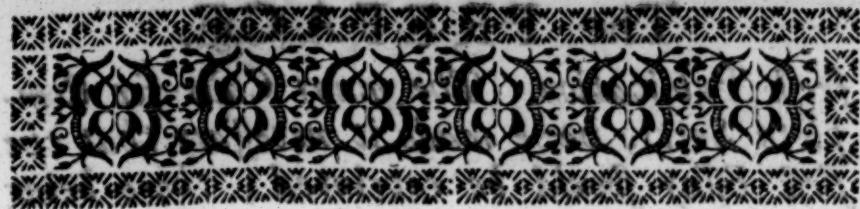
A
COLLECTION

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

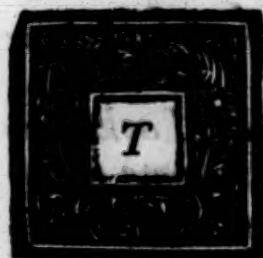
FOR THE YEAR 1716

AND THE YEAR 1717





THE P R E F A C E.



THE World having been so favourable to the Papers here collected, as to allow their growing up to a Volume; my Bookseller tells me, it is very proper that something should be writ in the way of a Preface. I am the more ready to fall in with his Sentiments, as thinking it a proper Occasion of expressing my Gratitude to Those who have given Encouragement to my Design. It is some Satisfaction, to think that I have publish'd any important Truths; but 'tis much more, to find that Others think so as well as my Self. Party Zeal and Fury ran so high when I first set out, that I confess, every Mark of Favour from the World, is more than I expected. 'Tis a Favour that the OCCASIONAL PAPER should be allow'd to live for a Year, when so many other Papers have appear'd, and vanish'd in the last Twelve Months. 'Tis yet a greater Favour to hear of the Demand for them increasing upon every

The PREFACE.

fresh Publication. The many Calls for Complete Setts, have made it necessary that the first Essay should be reprinted; there being more of the rest publish'd by some Hundreds, than there was of that. Those who have bought them singly, will not, however, be Sufferers on that Account: They are welcome to this Half Sheet Gratis, upon their asking the Publisher for it: And I do promise, that those who continue to buy them Monthly, shall never be made uneasie by any After-additions or Alterations, but what may be procur'd by themselves.

Next to the Monthly Purchasers, I acknowledge my self very much obliged to some of my Correspondents. The very Being and Continuance of this Paper is owing to the first; and many of its Ornaments to the last. For tho' some of my Readers would imagine me amongst those Politicians and Wits who write Letters to themselves; yet 'tis an Honour I am bound, in Justice, to disclaim. And yet I must confess, I know not where to return my Thanks, for several of the Letters I have received: The Hands from which they have come being as intirely unknown to my self, as to any of my Readers. I have indeed met with such rough Treatment from one or two of my Correspondents, as is the usual Fate of those who leave Extreame, and seek for Truth without Attachment to Parties: However, I have this Privilege, so long as any Manuscripts are put into my own Power, that what I think will either profit,
or

The PREFACE.

or divert my Readers, I shall communicate; and what I apprehend will do neither, I'll take care to suppress; by keeping them as entire a Secret, as I do my own Name.

But you'll say, perhaps, Why should my Name still be made such a Secret of? I do sincerely reply, That 'tis because I take as much Pleasure in being conceal'd, as others do in making themselves known. I have abundance of Reason to conclude, that the World is perfectly at a Loss to think who, or what I am, by the very different Guesses that I have heard; which indeed do not more vary from one another, than all of them do from the Truth. And this very great Advantage I find from my Obscurity, That when I hear my self spoken against, my Uneasiness is the less; and when I hear my Performances approv'd, my Pleasure is the greater: since I am hereby convinc'd, that what is said, is not owing to any Friendship and Personal Regards, but to an Approbation of the Things treated on, and an Agreement in the Ways and Methods of Thinking. Perhaps, I should be look'd upon as making a false Boast, rather than an honest Declaration, if I should assure my Readers, That neither Fame, nor Profit, were my Inducements to begin this Paper: However, if I can go on to do Service, without being provok'd, either through Kindness, or Unkindness, to shew my self; that will, I hope, be thought sufficient to justify me in the End.

If

The PREFACE.

If I can do any thing to serve the Cause of Liberty and Virtue, I shall esteem the Satisfaction arising from thence, a sufficient Reward. It has always appeared to me one of the Noblest Attempts in the World, to propagate a Sense of Christian and Civil Liberty; without which, Mankind are but one huge Herd of Brutes and Savages. Without just Liberty, I say, they are a great Clan of abandon'd Vassals, with mean Spirits, narrow Views and Enjoyments, and Minds fitted for a dark Dungeon, and an heavy Chain; or if not fitted for them, yet forc'd, though with the utmost Reluctance, to wear the one, and endure the other. But the Virtuous Freeman shines at once with the Resemblance of his Maker, and sheds Blessings on his Fellow Creatures: He has not only the truest Taste of Pleasure, and the fullest Self-Enjoyment; but is a common Good, diffusing Love and Peace, and Pleasure and Plenty, all around him. To increase the Number of such, may perhaps, be thought too high an Ambition, for me so much as to propose: But however I am regarded by others, I can look within my self to an Heart full of Good Will to Mankind, and Good Wishes for my Native Country. And this alone will afford me a Pleasure too great for Description: A Pleasure that can only be known by a Mind guided with the like Views, and warm'd with the like Affection.

Yet, methinks, I have some Prospect of Success too. A more discouraging State of Things,

The PREFACE.

Things, in Opposition to my Design, cannot, I think, be well conceived of, than that which I have had to struggle with at my first Appearance : When Multitudes, with the Church in their Mouths, had openly taken Leave of Honesty and Humanity in their Lives : when profess'd Protestants had lost all their Dread of Popery, and not only thought of it with Indifference, but with Affection : when Freeborn Britains shew'd the utmost Fondness for Slavery and Chains, and seem'd resolved to involve Europe in the same Calamities with themselves : When Things were at this pass, to find any Lovers of Truth, and Assertors of Liberty ; and to find my Performances favoured by such, and rescued both from the Contempt and the Rage of Zealots ; I look upon as an Earnest of some farther Success. If such kind of Principles as those insisted on in these Papers, are but kept alive, I am not without Hope, that, when the Tempest rais'd among us, has spent a little more of its Breath, the scatter'd Sparks may unite, and kindle into a Flame ; and so the Spirit of Liberty, and Goodness, without Distinction of Parties, may be diffused thro' this Nation.

But whatever my Success may be, I am resolved to pursue my Design, and to carry it as far as I can. And the more Help I have from my Correspondents, the better I shall still hope to succeed.

The

The *Advertisement* to the first Paper being left out in the Reprinting of it, I beg leave to insert it here.

AS *Occasion offers, and Circumstances of Affairs require, the Author of this Paper is resolved to do the best Service he can to the best of Causes; the Cause of Truth, Liberty, and Catholick Christianity.*

In this Design, as he knows who are like to be his Enemies, and defies before-hand the narrow-soul'd Bigot, the Party-man, the affected Sectarian, the lewd Profaner of the Name of Free-Thinker; so he promises himself the Assistance of those Gentlemen who shine in the Opposite Character; the Lovers of Truth wherever they can find it, of the Liberties of Mankind and their dear Country, where Truth and Liberty are yet preserved; and of real Goodness, and Religion without Distinction of Parties.

The Author restrains himself from Nothing which may either instruct, or entertain: He will sometimes argue, sometimes relate, sometimes take off false Colours, stating Matters of Fact as they are, and Matters of Right as they ought to be. He will sometimes tell his own Story, sometimes Another's; sometimes please Himself, sometimes his Reader; perhaps sometimes Neither. But that he may the oftner please All, he seriously desires the Learned and Ingenious would suffer him to insert as little of his Own as possible.

The Gentlemen who now and then deal in Letters, Essays, Arguments, Descriptions, &c. their Contributions will meet with all due Regard, and be acknowledged in such a manner as they please; directed, To the Author of the Occasional Paper, at North's Coffee-House, King-Street, London. Post paid.

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

NUMBER. I.

AN
ESSAY
ON
BIGOTRY.

Goodness sits gloriously triumphant at the Top of Heaven: Uncharitableness lies miserably groveling at the Bottom of Hell: Heaven descends from the One as its principal Cause; Hell is built on the Other as its main Foundation.
Dr. Barrow.

Pride (and so Bigotry) proceeds from a mean and narrow View of the little Advantages about a Man's self. Meekness is founded on the extended Contemplation of the Place we bear in the Universe, &c.
Christian Hero.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JAMES KNAPTON, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard; J. ROBERTS, in Warwick-Lane; J. HARRISON, under the Royal Exchange; and A. DODD, without Temple-Bar. M DCC XVIII.

(Price Three Pence.)

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER

ESSAYS
ON
BIGOTRY





THE
Occasional Paper.

NUMBER I.

Of BIGOTRY.



THE present *Posture* of Affairs seems to call upon every one who is able to use aright, either his Tongue, his Pen, or his Sword, to exert himself in the Service of his Country. A strong Conviction of this has overcome the Prejudices I had against being the Author of such a Paper; and a mighty Concern for the Prosperity of *my City and Nation*, has transported me beyond all the Objections I could easily

raise against my self as a *Writer*: And if I am not much mistaken, has given me Resolution enough to carry me through any ill Treatment I may meet with upon that Account.

I would no more regard Censure or Opposition in a good Cause, than a *Soldier*, warmed with true Courage, regards the Roar of Guns, or the Whistling of Bullets about his Ears. And yet I would not have my *Reader* imagine, I set out with the Fury of a *Warrior*, when my highest Ambition is to serve my Country in the Character of a *Peace-Maker*. I confess, the Attempt is discouraging enough, to think of putting one's self between squabbling Parties; since He who does so, has little to expect but Blows from both Sides. However, I can solemnly declare, I had rather heal the Breaches of my Country, than destroy even Those I most dislike in it,

My first Request therefore is, That Noise and Tumult may cease a little, and that my *Country-men* would give themselves leave to hear me. Lend me Your Attention, I beseech You, for one Quarter of an Hour, whilst I lay before You the *Cause* of all Your Broils, and shew You what is like to be the *Consequence*.

I shall not pretend to enumerate, at present, the Miscarriages of any particular Persons, or Reproach One Side or Another, with the Faults they have committed; tho', perhaps, there have been *Faults on both Sides*: The best Way to amend them, is to make Men sensible of the Cause of them; and that I take to be, in one word, BIGOTRY.

By

By which I mean an excessive *Fondness* for a Man's own Sentiments; or standing up for this, or the other Set of Opinions, with more Conceit and Eagerness than the Reason and Importance of them require. 'Tis us'd also by the *French* Writers, to signify *Hypocrisy* and *Superstition*, a false Shew of Zeal, and Fondness for little Things. It commonly respects Matters of *Religion*, especially the outward Circumstances and lesser Appendages of it; and may indifferently relate to what is right or wrong: for an unreasonable and disproportionate Zeal in a right Way, partakes of the Nature of this Vice, as well as any lower Degrees in a wrong. 'Tis sometimes extended to other Things beside Religion: As to *Publick* Affairs; there is a State Bigotry, as well as Religious: To *Philosophy* and *Common Life*; an Addictedness to peculiar Opinions in the One, and Affectation of Singularity in the Other.

It seems always to involve in it *Partiality* and *Violence*: An Attachment to One's own Way, join'd with a Rigor and Severity towards Others: Or such a Zeal of Mind to our Own Apprehensions, as carries us to Persecution, or Uncharitableness towards other Men.

It stands oppos'd to a generous *Freedom* and Largeness of Soul, which takes in the whole Compass of a Case, and lies open to the Evidence of Truth: And to Christian *Charity*, or the Love of other Men, notwithstanding a different Make of Mind, and other Apprehensions of Things. And 'tis distinguish'd from true Zeal or earnest Contending for Truth; as true Zeal is always according to Knowledge, measured by the Moments of Things, and within due

due Bounds: But Bigotry is a disproportionate Concern to the Weight of the Matter, and to the Prejudice of some other Truth. Zeal is a staid and regular Warmth, like the *natural* Heat of the Body; Bigotry is preternatural and intemperate, like a faint and *feaverish* Heat.

'Tis often *constitutional*, and arises from an unhappy Temper and Make of Mind; a *Narrowness* and *Little*ness of Soul, confin'd and limited in its Views: Or from a natural *Fury* and fiery Zeal, which transports Men with Passion, and carries them beyond Bounds in whatever they espouse: Or from *Pride* and Conceit of our Selves, over-rating our Understandings, and making them the Measure of Truth, and Standard to other Men: Or from *Selfishness* of Mind, an Over-solicitude to our own Interests, and Unconcern and Disregard to another's Welfare.

Sometimes it proceeds from the Prejudices of *Education*, or the Tincture and Turn we receive from the earliest Impressions: A School or University, the Reverence of our Teachers, or the first Set of Principles we happen to be acquainted with, shall determine our Belief and our Party all our Lives after. Sometimes from the *Conversation* of Others, especially of One Sort of Men. The Wit and Address of those we admire and esteem, easily insinuate and prevail; possess like Witchcraft, and delight like a Charm: Men naturally run into the Sentiments of those with whom they frequently converse; without any Opportunity of hearing the other Side, or ever seeing the Thing in another Light. Perhaps sometimes 'tis owing to wicked and secret *Designs*, which such a

Set

Set of Principles, or Sect of Men, as they have espoused, may make necessary, or may be convenient to serve.

This will be best understood and illustrated by proper *Instances* in Matters of Opinion and Practice, both in Religion and Civil Life.

Thus in Matters of mere Opinion; We often see Men so *tenacious* of their own Apprehensions, as to be impatient of Contradiction, or of hearing any thing that varies from them. You blow up their Passion by the gentlest Breath of Opposition, and put them into a Posture of Defiance at first Appearance of an Attack. If You once attempt to shock their Principles, or pretend to convince them of a Mistake, they'll break in upon all the Rules of Decency and all the Ties of Friendship. They take it for an unpardonable Rudeness or Presumption, to offer to shew them they are in the Wrong, or endeavour to set them Right. It sometimes sets Men a raving and talking their own Talk, like *mad* Men in the dark, without allowing Others to speak in their Turn, or considering what they have to say for themselves.

Or They give a *higher* Assent to the Truth of a Thing than they have proper Evidence to support: And often reckon a Thing certain upon doubtful Proof, and Arguments which impartially weighed, appear at most but probable. Some Men have made first Principles and capital Points of Religion without express Testimony of sacred *Scripture*, and upon no better Authority than the dark Distinctions and Decisions of the *Schools*.

Sometimes They lay a greater *Stress* upon a certain Truth than it deserves, either consider'd
in

in it self, or laid in the Ballance with other Truths. A *Bigot* will commend and caress a Man who agrees with Him in a *Nostrum*, tho' He has scarce one valuable Quality belongs to Him; and over-look or depreciate the most shining Excellence, in those who happen to differ from Him in a darling Sentiment. Tho a Man believes all the Articles of the Christian Faith, is a constant and devout Worshipper of God, and lives agreeable to the Gospel; He shall be reckon'd out of the Pale of the Christian Church, if He like not the *Ceremoniale* of a Party: While another shall pass for a good Church-Man, upon the single Merit of being a *Zealot* for it; tho he can't give a tolerable Account of his Creed, seldom appears in the House of God, and lives in Defiance of the plainest Rules of Christianity. He shall be damn'd for an *Heretick*, who believes and reverences his Bible, and takes all the Pains He can to understand it; if He will not consent to the *Shibboleth* of a School-Term, which he thinks unintelligible or improper. He must be a *false Brother* in the Church, and a *Presbyterian*, who is not absolutely for condemning, those who differ from Him, to Misery in both Worlds; tho He is as staunch for the Hierarchy, and cautious of Concessions as his Neighbours. He is the only true Friend of the Church, who by ill Usage, and ill Humour to Dissenters, heightens their Aversion to the publick Establishment, and sets them at a greater Distance from it.

There is often an *Inconsistency* of Sentiments: Truth sometimes breaks forth in generous and Catholick Principles; but when a favourite
No.

Notion comes to be touch'd by it, they are ready to abandon the Principle, or distinguish it away into Nothing. We see Men often laying down such Principles in contending with One Party, which they hardly care to own when they are attack'd by Another. Crying up a Set of Principles at one Time, and in one Circumstance of Things, which they are ready to dissemble and disown in Another. They grow shy and silent, who were before open and earnest; and are either afraid to own a Truth, or ashamed to confess a Mistake.

This will farther appear, if you consider the Matter in what relates to *Practice*: Men obstinately adhere to their own Way, without sufficient Reason, and against reasonable Evidence. They are settled and fixed in their present Opinion, and Proof against the clearest Light and fairest Methods of dealing with them. We see how commonly Men retain the Principles of their Forefathers, and tread the beaten Road, notwithstanding strong Presumptions of being in the wrong, or the kindest Help to set them right: Men are *Papists* or *Protestants*, and of the several *Sects* and Divisions of Each, according to this Measure. And we rarely find so free and generous a Soul, who lies always open to Conviction, and dares embrace a New Truth, or rectify and discard an old Mistake.

So Men value Themselves upon their own *Peculiarities*, and lesser Marks of Distinction, more than the great *Things of the Divine Law*, or their common Christianity; and lay greater Stress upon Circumstance and Accident, than upon the Life and Substance of Religion. The

Pharisees, the *Jewish* Bigots, were more careful of the lesser *Tithes*, than the greatest *moral* Duties. Among the *Papists*, who of all that wear the Christian Name, are the most distinguished Bigots, I shall only relate the strange Instance of the Shepherd on the Mountains of *Naples*; who in *Lent* came to his Confessor, and earnestly desir'd Absolution: He asked, What was his Crime? The Shepherd told him, That he had by chance swallowed a little *Whey*, which spurted from the Cheese-Press into his Mouth. The Father asked him, whether he knew himself guilty of no other Sins? He answered; No, He did not know of any. He again asked Him, whether he was not Accessary to any of the *Robberies* and *Murders* committed on their Mountains? To which he replied, *Yes indeed, that I am, but this we never esteem a Crime: 'Tis a thing practis'd by all of Us, and there needs no Confession for such things.*

Another Instance is, Zeal for their own Party, to the Prejudice of the publick Interest, and Wrong of other Persons. We see Men often more solicitous to make a *Profelyte*, and enlarge their own Inclosure, than to serve the Interests of the greatest Truth, or promote the common Good. Many innocent and precious Lives, have fallen Victims to Party Rage. The Zeal of God which should eat them up, has devoured all about them; as in the Hundred Thousand Protestants, who without Pretence of Injury or Shadow of Offence, were destroyed in cold Blood in the *Parisian* and *Irish* Massacres. We have seen Men willing to sacrifice the publick Interest to their private Sentiments, and put All in Hazard to raise their Party: We have
seen

seen the Protestant Religion, and whole Constitution, reduced to the last Extremity, in favour of a darling Maxim, and under the Presence of a Divine Right.

A servile Adherence to *other* Mens Judgments, without using our own Reason, or judging for our selves, is a very prevailing but pernicious Instance of Bigotry: Giving our selves up Blindfold to the Conduct of Others, and following them right or wrong; supposing them to see farther, and fitter to judge for us; not considering that we are reasonable Creatures our selves, and must give our own Account at last. The *Reverence* of great and admired *Names* has drawn in Multitudes to the same Opinion, and discouraged any free Enquiries, in some very plain and important Instances of Truth. Some Men swallow down Opinions as silly People do *Emprick's* Pills, without knowing what they are made of, or how they will work; or as common *Soldiers* follow their *Leader*, without examining the Cause for which they contend.

Men often read only on *one* Side of a Controversy; magnify the Wisdom and Learning of their Own Writers; while they disparage those of the other Side, or suffer themselves to be ignorant of them. I have sometimes known some of the principal Writers, or best Books, in a Controversy, managed with Sufficiency and Assurance, and even with Challenge and Triumph, never read or seen, by the Parties concern'd, in many Years together.

Or They *wrest* every thing to their preconceived Opinion; bending the strait Line of Truth to the powerful Prejudices of their own

B 2

Mind,

Mind, and pressing every thing into the Service of their own Cause. Every thing looks of the same Colour with the Glass, through which they see it. A noted Interpreter of our own *, has wrested a great Part of the *New Testament* in Favour of two or three darling Notions, which he fancies He meets with almost every where. It may seem to little Purpose to write against Bigotry, because they who most need it are least likely to regard it.

Bigotry is not confin'd to Religion, how much soever it reigns there, but is evident in Civil Life, or what relates to the State. How often do we see Men fall in with others, without ever considering their Opinions, and go the Lengths of a Party, without entring into their Views, or being able to give any Reason for it. Artful and designing Men manage the Wires behind the Scenes, and play the Pup-pits upon the Stage; they give out the Cry, and the sequacious Multitude follow in the Dark. The unthinking Herd like a Flock of Sheep always follow the Bell.

We have a fresh Instance of this before Us: Religion, which should inspire Men with a Zeal of doing Good, has inflamed them with a Thirst of Mischief. The Cry of the Church, in the Mouths of weak or designing Bigots, has been made a Pretence to disturb the Quiet of the State, and a successful Engine almost to overturn Religion it self, and all Order and Honesty, good Sense and Government among Us. Men have been persuaded under the Power of this Delusion, to receive the most open *Fals-*

* Dr. Hammond.

hoods, and digest the grossest *Absurdity*. To believe the Church in Danger, when in a safe and flourishing Circumstance, in the full Possession of all its Rights and Revenues, and under the Favour and Protection of a *Protestant* Prince; and that the only way to secure it, is to set a *Papist* at the Head of it, dispos'd by Nature, and oblig'd by Principle, to destroy it as soon as he is able.

Yea, which may seem strange, there is a Bigotry even for *Deism*; for pretended *Free-Thinking*, and the Contempt of every Thing built on Divine Revelation: Which however it may be imagined serviceable to the State, must necessarily sap the Foundation of all Government. Take away the Authority of the *Scriptures*, and what they are most fit to inspire Men with, the *Fear of God*, and I'll bid Defiance to the best managed humane Authority long to stand its Ground.

There is Bigotry among the several *Sects* of Those who set up for Religion among Us. The many violent and narrow-spirited Protestants of the several Denominations, are so many Bigots; and contribute considerably to obstruct the Exercise of *General Kindness*, the great Bond of all Society. But tho these are not thought considerable enough at present to spend much Time in addressing to; yet I cannot but say, the Part they have unanimously acted in the present Conjunction, would be enough to bribe One into an *Easiness* of Temper towards them, and make One think they ought at least to be let alone in their several Peculiarities, who have behaved themselves so well, under all their Disadvantage, in the common Interest.

There

There are other Instances of *Bigotry* in common Life; in the several *Oddities* and Humours that distinguish Mens particular Conduct, which it would be endless to reckon up, and of less Importance.

The Reader will be easily able to discern by such numerous Instances, how *common* and spreading an Evil it is; but perhaps the *Mischief* of it is not rightly understood, or duly consider'd by the Most. *Bigotry* is a *Weed* which must be rooted up, or it will quickly ruin all good Productions of the Soil where it grows. It will eat out the Heart of Religion, and the Heart of our Country too, if it ben't timely check'd and destroy'd. 'Tis vicious in its whole Nature, and in all its Causes and Consequences. It's *Unmanly*: For Men shut their Eyes against the Light, and follow others in the Dark: They neglect the noblest Gift of God and the best Power of their Nature, what is most essential and distinguishing to a reasonable Creature; to think for Himself, and see with his own Eyes, and judge according to the best Light he can get of the true Merits of a Cause.

'Tis *Ungenteel*: For a Bigot is always positive, and apt to be froward, and soon grows rude and troublesome. Upon the Principle of stiff Adherence to a Man's own Sentiments right or wrong, 'tis impossible to keep up mutual Civility, or preserve a just Decorum. For One Man has the same Right to *insist* with Another; and Neither, upon this Supposition, must ever yield or submit. The Consequence is, that Men must needs be led to endless Wrangle, and become Uneasy to One Another,
We

We can't easily imagine any thing less friendly to the Exercise of that *Humanity* which belongs to a reasonable Creature ; or that *Good Nature* which is proper to our Country ; or that *Complaisance* which becomes good Breeding and a liberal Education.

Nor is it less *Unchristian* : For nothing is more Opposite to the Spirit of the *Gospel*, which is all Kind and Good ; proper to inspire the most generous Sentiments of Mind, and promote the Good of Others. It allows Us to *prove all Things*, It requires Us to *honour all Men* ; to *love our Neighbour as Our Selves* ; to *look every Man on the Things of another* ; to *forbear and prefer one another in Love* ; and in *Lowliness of Mind, esteem others better than our Selves*. Bigotry is the exact Transcript of a *Pharisee*, who lays a Stress upon Little Things, and bears hard upon Others ; and is the most obnoxious and hated Character in all the Sacred Writings. And it cannot but be *prejudicial* to Christianity, as well as *Unworthy* of it : For where-ever this Humour prevails, there is commonly a great *Defect* of Zeal for more important Things. It draws all the Spirits to it Self ; as the many little Suckers about the Body of a Tree, drain the Life and Sap from the Root, and make it languish and wither. It weakens a due Regard to the greatest Things, by dividing them among a great many little Ones ; as the Cutting a River into many Channels, weakens its Force, and makes it run shallow.

'Tis *Unphilosophical*, and a great Enemy to Truth : For it shuts our Eyes against further Light, and shuts us up in present Attainments. 'Tis a strong Prejudice in our Minds to any
fresh

fresh Discoveries, or impartial Search, and cramps all Improvements and Progress in any kind of Knowledge. Besides, that it endangers Mens running into the *contrary* Extreme: For when once Men come to see themselves in an Error, and find they were blinded and deceived in a favourite Opinion, and what they were taught to think important; they will be very likely to run to the Other Extreme, or distrust every thing for the Future. So that Bigotry in Philosophy as naturally leads to *Scepticism*, as Bigotry in Religion does to *Prophaneness*, or in the State to Violence and *Confusion*.

And this brings to mind another ill Property of it; that 'tis *Impolitick* and injurious to the publick Peace. 'Tis a great Enemy to Charity, and to Civil as well as Christian Friendship: It leads Men to Jealousy, Envy, and Animosity; and sometimes to open Violence and Persecution. Yea, Wars and Tumults commonly spring from blind Prejudice and a heated Zeal. A Bigot, assisted by Wit, dictates, and domineers; but supported by Power, persecutes, and destroys all about Him. Suppose such a thing as a *Kingdom of Bigots*, or any lesser Body and Society of Men, made up wholly of Persons of such a Character, and it would render *War* to be indeed the *State* of Nature, and necessarily infer perpetual Quarrel and Contention. For, as Men were never of one Sentiment of Mind, any more than of one Size and Form of Body; every Man's eager and obstinate persisting in his own Way, must needs banish mutual Friendship and Confidence, and introduce Hatred and Violence

lence to the End of the World. So that in reality it has been one main Source of all the Mischief in the Church, and in the World, in every Age.

But is there no way to stop the spreading Infection? Is there no *Relief* in so dangerous a Case? It is much more easy to point out the Remedy, than perswade Men to use it: And One may rather wish than hope for a Redress among the Generality. The thing were certainly easy, if Men were at all disposed to it, and would give themselves leave to reflect a little upon the plainest Things, evident in Reason as well as Experience. For Instance, that there is a natural *Fallibility*, or Liableness to Mistake, common to our Nature: *Humanum est Errare*: Infallibility is above the Condition of a Creature, and proper to infinite Wisdom. That we have often made *actual* Mistakes, through Weakness or Inadvertence, by the false Lights in which we are apt to put things, or the artful Representations of Others. One would think a single Instance or two of plain Mistake, after a long Possession, and a great Assurance of Right, should make a Man cautious and modest ever after; and always ready to make the Supposition, That *'tis possible I may be wrong*. Free *Conversation* with Men of different Sorts, and not confining one's Friendship and Confidence to those of any Party; but conversing freely with Men of Capacity and Integrity in the several Persuasions among Us; would mightily open [and enlarge the Mind, deliver Us from Abundance of Prejudice, and dispose to large and generous Thoughts. I have known some Gentlemen

bred in a Corner, immured in the Walls of a College, and confin'd all their Days to one Set of Men, come abroad in the World with a stingy Narrowness, and intemperate Heat: When a more free and promiscuous Conversation for a little while, has given another Turn of Mind, and other Notions of many Things: Hath made them see reason to lay less Weight upon some Things, wherein perhaps they were in the Right; and to see that other Men had more to say for themselves, in what they may yet think Wrong. But what is above all, and the Foundation of all the rest, is a Natural *Probity* and *Love* of Truth; an *Honesty* and *Impartiality* of Mind to the greater Evidence, and greater Importance of Things, without the Colours of Prejudice, or Bias of worldly Interest.

To remove any Prejudice which may yet remain; when a Judgment is deliberately formed, we are not obliged to alter and give it up, upon any other Consideration than Evidence of a Mistake. 'Tis a noble Obstinacy becoming every honest Man, not to part with the least Truth, but upon farther Light; or even a probable Truth, but upon greater Appearance of Probability. If what appears an important Truth should, in its Consequences, bear hard upon Others; I can no more help That, than alter the Nature of things. Yea, if it should prove otherwise, 'tis not Uncharitableness, but Mistake, while I judge by the best Light I have, and am ready to receive farther Information. And when a Man thinks Himself in the Right, He is not to blame for endeavouring to bring others into the same Sentiment. To be perfectly in-

indiffe-

different what other Men think or act in Matters which I apprehend of Consequence to the present Good of Mankind, or their everlasting Welfare, is inconsistent with the Love we owe to God and our Neighbour: 'Tis a laudable Zeal and true Charity, to endeavour their Conviction by all fair and proper Methods; by the greatest Power of Reason, and representing in the most lively Manner, the dangerous Tendency of their Principles, or Ways of Acting.

But it degenerates into *Bigotry*, when We have not only Warmth enough to excite our own Activity, but are angry with those who differ from Us; and ready to question their Honesty, because they are not of our Mind; when we would deny them the Rights of common Humanity, silence them if it were in our Power; and propagate what we call the Truth, in the way of the *Alcoran*, and not of the *Gospel*: Betaking our selves to the unmanly and unhallowed Ways of ill Usage, Detraction, and Violence. This, to use a sacred Expression, is a *bitter Zeal*, and is *earthly, sensual, devilish*; and an open Defiance of that noble Maxim, of *doing the same to Others, which we would have done to us*.

Let us now turn the End of the *Perspective*, and view the opposite Character in a few Lines and Features of Resemblance. How beautiful is a free and generous Mind, which lies open to Evidence, and dares own the Truth! is willing to see the Reason of Things, and judge by the Merits of a Cause, without the Prepossession of Prejudice, Force of Interest, or Shackles of Authority: A Mind that makes
all

all reasonable Allowance to other Men of a different Make, and another Way; endeavours to set them Right, whom He apprehends in the Wrong, with the same Sincerity with which he is ready to receive Light, and submit to the Power of Truth, Himself: He hears with Patience, what can be said against a darling Sentiment, and is affected towards it but in Proportion to its Weight: He treats them who differ from him with Kindness, and thinks not the worse of another Man, because he is not in all Things of his Opinion; excepting only what nearly affects the greatest Principles of *Religion*, or Foundations of the *Civil Peace*: He would hurt no Man, if it were in his Power, for mere Difference of Sentiment; and would do all the Good he can to any other; and rather to one of another Opinion, if he apprehend him more wise and vertuous, than One exactly of his own Mind: He is commonly well with others, but always easy to himself: Willing to learn as long as he lives, and growing up to a Perfection of Mind.

Such a Man is the *Glory* of Humane Nature: An *Ornament* to Christianity: The *Darling* of the wise and generous World: The truest *Friend* of the Publick Peace, and best *Support* of the State where he lives. In one Word; He bears the nearest Resemblance of the *Best of Beings*, who is infinitely Wise and Good; and partakes most of the Temper of *Heaven*, which is perfect Light and Peace.

F I N I S.

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

NUMBER II.

THE
CHARACTER
OF A
PROTESTANT.

When God shall make Inquisition for that Blood, (Protestant Blood) it is much to be fear'd, that a great Part of the Vengeance which is due for it, will fall upon the Heads of those Men, who countenance, encourage, and strengthen the Hands of the Papists, tho' they be not Papists themselves.
Sam. Johnson's Dissual. from Popery.

LONDON:

Printed for R. BURLEIGH in Amen-Corner. 1716.

(Price Three Pence.)

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER

NUMBER II

THE
CHARACTER

OF A
PROTESTANT



When God hath made known his will
To us, and we have seen his grace
In his own word, and in his works,
We should be glad to see his face
In his own word, and in his works,
And should be glad to see his face
In his own word, and in his works,
And should be glad to see his face
In his own word, and in his works.

LONDON

Printed for R. B. [illegible]
(Printed by [illegible])



THE
Occasional Paper.

NUMBER II.

THE
CHARACTER
OF A
PROTESTANT.



THE common Cry of the Church's Danger, has been manag'd with so much Art by those who were assaulting the Constitution, that, by this Feint, their pernicious Designs were conceal'd from General Observation. While the Attention and Spirit of the Nation were engag'd,

A 2

gag'd, according to the Wish of those Men ; We lay miserably expos'd where our Enemies resolv'd to try their Principal Strength.

It was the Saying of a famous Patriot of the last Age, *That if the Common People of England once lost the Cry against Popery, it would be the easiest Matter in the World to take away their Liberty.* How much some late Managers were appriz'd of This, is now but too plain. The Service of the Church was made their Pretence ; But one would think *Protestant* was quite drop'd out of the Notion of it. The *Fathers of our Reformation* valu'd Themselves as a Principal Branch of the Protestant Interest ; and cultivated a strict Friendship and Union with Those abroad, who agreed in the General Principles of Separation from *Rome*, tho' They had different Sentiments of some particular Doctrines, and chose another Model of Church-Government, and other Circumstances of Worship. But of later Years, and especially in the impetuous Clamours of our Time, *the Church* is made the Term of Distinction from *all other Protestants*, rather than from Popery : The People being taught to say, that 'tis better to be a *Papist* than a *Presbyterian*, tho' most of the Foreign Protestants are such.

By these *new Impressions* the Betrayers of their Country made a Surprizing Progress towards the Accomplishment of their Design. Such as boasted they were *the Truest Sons of the Church*, when thus prepar'd, could easily come in to the Settlement of a Bigotted *Papist* at the Head of the Government, in Opposition to a Protestant Successor ; applaud the strictest Measures concerted with the chief Supporters
of

of the Papal Power; vilify the most Faithful Protestant Allies; and, at last, join the sworn Slaves of *Rome*, in open Rebellion, against a Protestant Sovereign. And (which is stranger than all the rest) they could make so many Advances towards Popery *for the Service of the Church*. If They had declar'd for *Rome*, No body would be surpriz'd at their Conduct. But Many of them, if you should ask them the Question, would still call Themselves Protestants, and insist on their Right to the Name. If They are in earnest, I would hope it may help to set them right, to trace a Protestant to His Original, and give a just Account of Him. Or if it should have no Effect that way, yet it will rescue that *Glorious Character* from the Scandal of *their Temper and Spirit*.

Indeed so many Sorts of People pass under the Name, on very different Accounts, that you might divide them, into them who *are* Protestants, and them who are *not*. This may seem an odd Distinction at first View; but 'tis no more in Effect, than what is actually found among most Parties; to which some really belong, and others only in Name. In the last Rank the *Local*, the *Systematic*, and the *Politic* Protestant may be plac'd.

A *Local* Protestant is one who goes by that Name for no other Reason, but because he lives in a Protestant Country. 'Tis well known, that Rivers and other Boundaries of Civil Dominions, are made sufficient Divisions of Churches: And All included within the Limits of a Kingdom or State, have that Name in Religion, which is publicly receiv'd and profess'd there; Except such as openly oppose and dissent

dissent from it. The *Systematic* Protestant takes in Gross all the particular Opinions, which his Church has ty'd together in one Bundle of Articles, or Confession, for Points necessary and indisputable, without any more Ado. On These (neither more nor less) he makes the Protestant Cause to depend. And if any Opinion determin'd in his Church, comes to be examin'd and reform'd, he presently sounds an Alarm, that Religion is in Danger. There is also the *Politick* Protestant, who dislikes *Rome* meerly for Secular Reasons. He regards the Corruptions of the *Court of Rome*, more than the Religious Errors of Popery. He expresses a Concern to put a Stop to the ill-gotten Power of the Pope, and his Oppression of the Members of His Communion: But is for setting up Another Policy in its stead; wherein, saving his own Rights against his Holiness, he would subject the Rights of other Men to a like Power in other Hands, which as a true Politician, he takes care to lodge with Himself or his sure Friends.

'Tis easy to observe, that these three sorts of People are only Nominal Protestants. The first is Nothing at all, and would make as good a Papist at *Paris*, or Musulman at *Constantinople*, as a Protestant at *London*. The other two are so far from being Genuine Protestants, that really they oppose the Principles and Reasons upon which the Appellation of *Protestant* began. We must therefore look back to the particular Occasion which gave Rise to it.

When a considerable Progress had been made in the Reformation in *Germany*, by the vigorous

rous Endeavours of *Luther*, and Others, and several Princes and Free Cities of the Empire had embrac'd it: The Emperor *Charles V.* at the Instigation of the Pope, made a resolute Effort to prevent any farther Advances. For that Purpose, in the Year 1529. * He summon'd a Diet at *Spire*; where a Decree was carry'd by the Majority of the Princes and States assembled, " That Those who had
" chang'd their Religion, and could not then
" retract for fear of Tumults and Seditions
" among their Subjects, should moderate
" Themselves, and make no more Innovati-
" ons, till the Meeting of a Council. That
" none should be allow'd to oppose the Real
" or Substantial Presence. That the Mass
" should be continu'd where it was, and re-
" stor'd where it was put down. That Mi-
" nisters should preach according to the Sense
" and Interpretation of Scripture, approv'd by
" the Church, and not meddle with Contro-
" verted Points, &c. And such as acted o-
" therwise, were threaten'd with the *Ban* of
" the Empire."

Against this Decree a solemn *Protest* was enter'd by six Princes and fourteen Free-Cities. And I cannot but observe it as one of the many Things which ought to endear *His present Majesty* to all His Protestant Subjects, that there were Two Princes of His Illustrious House among the Six, who gave Rise and Honour to the Name of Protestants; Duke

* *Sleidan. Commentar.* Ed. Tho. Courteau. 8vo. p. 100.
Perizonii Commentar. 1710. 8vo. p. 165.

Ernest, His Majesty's Great-Great-Grandfather, and Duke *Francis*, Brother to the former, * They were some of the earliest Patrons of the Reformation : And the same Hereditary Zeal for this Noble Cause, has continu'd without Interruption in the Direct Line of That August Family, down to Him whom Providence has made the *Great Defender of our Faith*.

In that famous Protestation, “ They profess
 “ all due Regard to the Emperor in Civil
 “ Matters : But pray a Liberty to dissent
 “ from the Decree in a Matter which concern'd the Salvation of their Souls. They
 “ were very willing Others should enjoy the
 “ same Liberty within their Dominions, as
 “ They desir'd for Themselves in their own :
 “ Only they pray God to enlighten the Minds
 “ of All with the Knowledge of His Truth.
 “ They disclaim the Insinuation, that they forbore to retract the Doctrine they had receiv'd, meerly for fear of Civil Commotions ; declaring, that they could not renounce it, without denying the pure Word of God, which would be a Sin of the most heinous Nature. Since their Ministers had disprov'd the Mass by undeniable Arguments of Scripture, they could not restore it ; nor abolish the Lord's Supper, which was set up instead of it, according to Christ's Institution, and the Practice of the Apostles. For Those who differ'd from them about the Real Presence, they thought no Decree

* *Sleidan. Ib. Disney's Tables.*

“ should

“ should be made against them till summon’d
 “ and heard. As to the Injunction upon Mini-
 “ sters to conform Themselves to the Churches
 “ Interpretations of Scripture in their Preach-
 “ ing, they observe; That no Doctrine was
 “ so certain as that of God’s Word, and No-
 “ thing should be taught beside it; That ob-
 “ scure Passages of Scripture could not be
 “ explain’d better than by other plain Places
 “ of the same Scripture: Therefore they
 “ would persist in their Endeavours to have
 “ the Writings of the *Old and New Testament*
 “ taught with the greatest Plainness and Purity.
 “ This was the only sure and infallible Way:
 “ But the Traditions of Men had no certain
 “ Foundation.”

From this Public Protest the Name of *Pro-
 testant* was not more readily affix’d to them by
 their Enemies, than assum’d by themselves, as
 their Glory. And was soon extended (as *Thua-
 nus* † tells us,) to all Others who profess’d a De-
 sire of reforming the Corruptions brought into Religi-
 on, and on that Account separated from the Church
 of Rome. It was not intended to discrimi-
 nate Those who adher’d to the Reformation
 one from another; tho’ They differ’d in many
 Points of Doctrine and Modes of Worship.
 They who sign’d the Protestation itself, were
 not all of one Mind: * the Princes stood for
 the *Real Presence*, but some of the Cities against
 it. Many more afterwards wore the same
 Common Name; and yet saw Cause (as they
 thought) to recede farther from the particular

† *Thuan. Histor. Lib. i. Ed. Francof. 1615. T. i. p. 18.*

* *Sleid. p. 99.*

Opinions of the *first Protesters*: And without doubt These would have disclaim'd the Title of Protestants as an Injury, if they had thought Themselves ty'd down by it to think and act as the *Protesters* did in all particular Points. But they willingly past under the same Denomination, because they approv'd the General Principles upon which the Protest is founded; and went upon the very same Themselves, tho' in the Pursuit of them they happen'd not to fall into just the same Set of Opinions or Measures of Worship and Discipline.

By a True Protestant then I understand One, who believes the Principles upon which the Several Reformed Churches reform'd Themselves. And what these are, may be easily collected from the Protest itself, and the concurrent Declarations of the Body of Protestants.

That which is the Foundation of all the rest, is, the *Perfection of the Holy Scriptures*: That They are a Sufficient and compleat Rule of All we are oblig'd to believe and practise in Religion: That Nothing is to be acknowledg'd for an Article of Faith upon any other Authority than the Testimony of those Writings: And we are to be govern'd in the Matter and Manner of Divine Worship, not by the Precepts of Men, but by the Institution of God in His Word. To this sacred Rule and nothing else the *Protesters* appeal for the Justification of their Opinions and Practices; asserting, that *Nothing should be taught in Religion but the Doctrine of God's Word*: That *This is the only sure and infallible Way, but the Traditions of Men have no certain Foundation*. And all other

ther Reformed Churches have in the most Authentic manner declar'd their Concurrence in the same Principle.

In Consequence of This the Protestant believes, that there ought to be allow'd a *fair and impartial Examination*, whether the Customs and Opinions which prevail in the Church are agreeable to the Sacred Records; and they should be retain'd or rejected, as they are found to be so or not: That in such an Enquiry, long Prescription, quiet Possession, Authority of Fathers or any other great Names, Determinations of Councils, or Strength of Numbers, are not Sufficient for retaining any Article or Practice in Religion, unless they can be justify'd by the Authority of Scripture. Without such a Liberty of Search there never can be a Reformation of any Present State of the Church: Upon this Principle the *Protesters* gave this reason for the Change they had made of the *Mass* for the *Lord's Supper*, that the *Mass* had been disprov'd by undeniable Arguments of Scripture, and the *Lord's Supper* agreed with Christ's Institution and the Practice of the *Apostles*. No other Pleas for the *Mass* could affright them either from enquiring into its Scriptural Authority, or from abolishing it when they found it had no Support there. And upon the same Foundation the other Churches of the Reformation went, in rejecting old Errors and Corruptions, or reviving Primitive Truths, and the Purity of Christian Institutions, which had been long out of Fashion, according to their best Apprehensions of the Sense of Scripture.

Nor do Protestants assert only the Right of Churches or of larger Bodies of Men, to bring

any Opinions or Usages in Vogue to the Standard of the Law and the Testimony: But they allow and encourage every particular Person to make a *free Judgment* of the Rule. As every Man is to answer for himself in the Future Account, and has the holy Scriptures put into his Hands by Divine Appointment for his Guidance: so he is bound to judge for himself according to the Light he has, and upon using the best Methods he can think of, for understanding the Word of God; such as that, for instance, mention'd in the *Pre-test*, of comparing the Passages which seem more obscure with the plainer Places of Scripture: And that of having a just Regard to the Rules of Interpretation us'd in other Writings, and to the Reason of Things; without offering any Arbitrary or Unreasonable Sence, or construing them into any Thing Impossible or Absurd. And if upon this Examination he cannot agree with the Generality of his Neighbours, in the Apprehensions he forms of the Sence of his Bible; he ought as an honest Man and a good Christian to dissent from the Majority. 'Tis neither Arrogance nor affected Singularity to suppose himself in the Right, tho' he should have Numbers against him. The Minority by an upright and diligent Enquiry into the Meaning of the Sacred Writings, may understand them better than a Croud of People who use not the same Sincerity or Application. And certainly to a Protestant this ought to be no strange Supposition: For as such, he is a Protester against a Majority in the wrong. The Reformation could never have been begun, if a *Luther* or the like must be debar'd from judging

ing, till a Number came to be of the same Sentiments. And the very Protest itself was made by a less Number of Princes and of Imperial Cities, who had been out-voted in the Diet. And by the same Reason, that a lesser Part of the Christian Church may differ from a far greater which still adheres to the Papacy, or a Smaller Number of the States of the same Empire dissent from the Prevailing Part; It must undeniably follow, that every Private Man is a competent Judge of the Rule for Himself, and bound to abide by that which he thinks to be the Truth and Will of God, whoever are of another Mind.

To this it must be added as another Protestant Principle, that People are oblig'd to make a frank and honest *Profession* of their Sentiments. I mean not, that it is necessary to publish to the World every private and particular Thought I may have in Matters of Religion. But a true Protestant will not be afraid or ashamed to own any Thing which he judges to be an *important* Truth. At least he cannot reckon himself at Liberty to make a Profession contrary to his Judgment, or to go into any Practices in Religion different from the Apprehensions he has receiv'd. He accounts himself ty'd up to govern his publick Actions, as well as his private Judgment by that which he has taken for his Rule. If the first Protestants could have satisfy'd themselves with being right only in their private Opinion, there would have been no occasion to separate from the Corruptions of *Rome*; to protest against them; or to suffer for their Consciences. But when they had discover'd the Truth, they could not forbear being

ing so just to God, the World, and Themselves, as to avow it openly.

And what must be the Consequence of This, but that a Protestant (if he will be consistent with Himself) must be ready to allow to another that Liberty, which, as a Protestant, he claims for himself? That is, to reform as he can best understand the Scriptures: Not be angry with Another for differing from him; but believe his Neighbour to have as much Right to the Liberty of his Conscience, as He has to his own. Honest Men with such Protestant Charity would soon agree in all Things necessary: And the small Differences which might remain among Them, would do little Harm to Themselves, no Hurt at all to the general Interest of the Protestant Cause, and be every way consistent with the Well-being both of Church and State. This cannot be express'd better than by reciting that glorious Passage in his Majesty's first Declaration in Council, Sept. 22. 1714.

"I take this Oecasion to express to you My
 "firm Purpose to do All that is in My Power
 "for the supporting and maintaining the
 "Churches of *England* and *Scotland*, as they
 "are severally by Law establish'd: Which I
 "am of Opinion may be effectually done
 "without the least Impairing the Toleration
 "allow'd by Law to Protestant Dissenters, so
 "agreeable to Christian Charity, and so necessary to the Trade and Riches of This Kingdom."

These I take to be the Essential Principles of a Protestant. He makes his Bible the only Rule of his Religion. Whatever are therefore or have been for many Ages the current Opinions

nions and Usages among Christians, they ought to be examin'd by this Test, and either continu'd or alter'd as they agree or disagree with it. He must make the best Use he can of his own Faculties, and of all the Helps which he can come at to understand the Scripture, and then govern his Profession and Practice by the Judgment he makes: Allowing all other People the same Liberty.

But lest any should imagin that I advance a new Notion of a Protestant, I think fit to set before the Reader's Eye, the masterly Strokes of a Hand justly and universally celebrated in This Church, I mean *Chillingworth* in his learned Discourse against *Knot* the Jesuit. * " When, " I say, The Religion of Protestants --- As " on the one side I do not understand by your " Religion the Doctrine of *Bellarmin* or *Barb-
nina*, or any other private Man among you, " nor the Doctrine of the *Sorbon*, or of the *Jesuits*, or of the *Dominicans*, or of any other " particular Company among you ; but that " wherein you all agree, or profess to agree, " the Doctrine of the Council of Trent : So ac- " cordingly on the other side, by the Religion " of Protestants, I do not understand the Do- " ctrine of *Luther*, or *Calvin*, or *Melancthon* ; " nor the Confession of *Augusta*, or *Geneva*, " nor the Catechism of *Heidelberg*, nor the Ar- " ticles of the Church of *England*, no nor the " Harmony of Protestant Confessions ; but that " wherein they all agree, and which they all " subscribe with a greater Harmony, as a per-

* Chilling. *Safe Way*, Chap. 6. §. 56.

“fect Rule of their Faith and Actions; that
“is, the BIBLE. The BIBLE, I say,
“the BIBLE only is the Religion of Prote-
“stants! Whatsoever else they believe, besides
“it, and the plain irrefragable, indubitable
“Consequences of it, well may they hold it
“as a Matter of Opinion; but as Matter of
“Faith and Religion neither can they with
“coherence to their own Grounds believe it
“themselves, nor require the Belief of it of
“others, without most high and most Schis-
“matical Presumption. I, for my Part, after
“a long and (as I verily believe and hope)
“impartial Search of the true Way to eternal
“Happiness, do profess plainly, that I can-
“not find any Rest for the Sole of my Foot,
“but upon this Rock only. I see plainly, and
“with my own Eyes, that there are Popes a-
“gainst Popes, Councils against Councils,
“some Fathers against others, the same Fa-
“thers against themselves, a Consent of Fa-
“thers of one Age against a Consent of Fa-
“thers of another Age, the Church of one
“Age against the Church of another Age.
“Traditive Interpretations of Scripture are
“pretended, but there are few or none to be
“found. No Tradition but only of Scripture
“can derive itself from the Fountain; but
“may be plainly prov’d, either to have been
“brought in in such an Age after Christ; or
“that in such an Age it was not in. In a
“Word, there is no sufficient Certainty but
“of Scripture only, for any considering Man
“to build upon. This therefore, and this on-
“ly I have Reason to believe; This I will
“profess, according to this I will live, and
“for

“ for this, if there be occasion, I will not
 “ only willingly, but even gladly lose my
 “ Life, tho’ I should be sorry that Chri-
 “ stians should take it from me. Propose me
 “ any thing out of this Book, and require whe-
 “ ther I believe or no, and seem it never so
 “ incomprehensible to Human Reason, I will
 “ Subscribe it with Hand and Heart, as know-
 “ ing no Demonstration can be stronger than
 “ this, God hath said so, therefore it is true.
 “ In other things, I will take no Man’s Liber-
 “ ty of Judgment from him; neither shall any
 “ Man take mine from me. I think no Man the
 “ worse Man, nor the worse Christian; I will
 “ love no Man the less for differing in Opinion
 “ from me. And what Measure I mete to
 “ others I expect from them again. I am ful-
 “ ly assured that God does not, and therefore
 “ that Man ought not to require any more of
 “ any Man than this, To believe the Scripture
 “ to be God’s Word; to endeavour to find
 “ the true Sense of it, and to live according to
 “ it.”

I have forbore inserting That in the Pro-
 testant’s Character, which is the most obvious,
 and by some may be thought the chief Part of
 it; I mean, his *direct Opposition to Popery*. ’Tis
 true there are several Popish Corruptions, with
 reference to Doctrine, Worship and Civil Go-
 vernment, which Protestants renounce with
 one Consent: And if I should describe them
 by a particular Enumeration of the opposite
 Principles wherein they all agree, on any or all
 of these Heads, This would make indeed a
 true Account of their Story. But I think a
 juster and more distinguishing Representation
 C of

of them is given in the Method I have taken : Because it is upon those Principles that all Protestants have gone in receding less or more from the particular Opinions of Popery, according to their several Apprehensions. A Protestant stands in more direct Opposition to the *Romanists* than to any other Body of Christians, because Popery is the greatest Defection from the Spirit and Design of Christianity, under the Name of it, that ever was in the World. But it is rather *accidental* to a Protestant, that he protests against the Church of *Rome*. If *Rome* were extinct, and All that derive from it ; and any Other should start up and claim the same Power which the Pope arrogates, to establish any Thing in Religion without Authority of Scripture ; or, in a Word, should oppose any of the Principles I have mention'd : In that Case a Protestant would be equally oblig'd to protest against them in Proportion, as against the Papal Corruptions : To disclaim (if I may be allow'd to use the Phrase) *Protestant Popery*, or any Thing analogous to it, which may be found among such as are call'd Protestants.

The Pope is, of All who wear the Christian Name, the most flagrant Opposer of the Perfection and Authority of Scripture, as the entire Rule of Faith, Worship, and Life, to all Christians ; by claiming an Authority above it, and setting up Unwritten Traditions as equally Authentic. But if any Protestant, so called, pretends to impose any Opinion or Mode of Worship, as necessary to Christian Communion, which is not expressly, or by evident Consequence deliver'd in the Sacred Writings,
He

He so far makes a *New Rule* of Religion; and therefore upon the Protestant Principle I cannot but disclaim it.

He that openly or design'dly opposes an Examination, into the prevailing Sentiments or Customs of his Time and Country, by the Word of God, indeed retains the Spirit, tho' he may disown the Name, of *Popery*. He denies the Bishop of *Rome* that Tyranny over the Church, but usurps it Himself. Suppose his Pretence for it should be, that the Matter has been already examin'd and well settled at the *Reformation*; That can by no means excuse his Conduct. That which was a true Principle Then, is Ever so. The first Reformers were no more Infallible than those that went before them, tho' they saw farther than many of their Predecessors. Nor is the Present Age any more obliged absolutely to acquiesce in their Decisions, than they were concluded by the Determinations of preceding Ages. Indeed to pretend a Necessity of leaving the Reformation just where They brought it, is to make Them our Rule instead of the Bible; and to set up an Infallibility in the Reformers, after we have renounced it in the Pope.

The Popish Church avowedly and honestly declares against a Private Judgment, and that All are oblig'd to adhere to the Interpretations of the Pope or a Council. If any who call Themselves Protestants would only change the Hands wherein This Power shall be lodg'd, from the Pope or a Council of his Creatures, to the Civil Magistrate or a Synod of their own Kidney; and make them the Lords of my Conscience, and declare them to have Auth.

rity to prescribe me what Religion they please, or (which is the same Thing) what Sense I must put upon the Scripture; In this Case I see not how the Reformation has mended my Circumstances. By this Scheme the same Spiritual Tyranny, which was before in the Pope, is transfer'd to the Civil Power, or the prevailing Party in a Nation: With this very great Disadvantage and Absurdity on the Protestant Side; That Here the People have their Bibles put into their Hands, but must not use them; while Popery is more consistent: There, because I cannot with Safety use my Bible myself, the Temptation is kept out of my Way. The genuine Principles of a Protestant bid Defiance to both Usurpations alike.

Once more; If Any shall tell me, I must ~~judge~~ judge for myself; but when I have done so, must not profess any Thing different from the common Opinion of my Neighbours; or be punish'd if I will not subscribe the Publick Faith; or if I should act otherwise in some religious Matters than They do; This carries the Insult upon Protestant Principles still higher. They give me more Opportunity than I could have in a Popish Country, to *know* my Master's Will; but I must therefore play the Hypocrite in forbearing to *do* it under fuller Light. They tantalize me by letting me know my Right to a Private Judgment; and then in the Face of the Sun can *say to my Soul, bow down that we may go over.*

Would to God Popery was kept within its own proper Bounds; and the Protestant Religion, where-ever it has a Footing, was made of a Piece with Itself! That the Principles of
it

it were seriously consider'd by All who wear the Name, and were suffer'd intirely to govern them ! Nothing could contribute more to the Peace of the Church and the Good of Mankind : Nothing can be better suited to form the Minds of Men into an Excellent Temper and Spirit ; to animate the Virtues which would best serve and adorn the Christian Interest.

The strictest Sincerity must grow up from such a Root, when People govern Themselves by a simple Regard to the Authority of God in his Word. When They are left at Liberty, with Moderation and Temper, to profess their real Sentiments, there would be no Temptation to double and dissemble with God and Man ; or to corrupt their Honesty by Equivocations and fraudulent Subscriptions ; which must naturally pave the Way for making light of the most solemn Assurances, and venturing on the boldest Perjuries, to the Bane of all Society. We might then hope to see Christians *steady and constant* to their Profession, as in the Primitive Times. When they were directed to take up their Religion from their Bibles upon mature Enquiry, and left to form their Judgments impartially upon the Evidence of Truth, without the wrong Byas of Secular Interest ; They would place their Religion in Matters of so much Consequence, and have their Profession built on so good a Foundation ; that they might well esteem it worth suffering for, if they should fall into the Hands of persecuting Papists. On the other Hand, This must also produce a constant *Openness to Truth* and Conviction : Which nothing can obstruct more, than

than the want of an impartial Regard to the Authority of the Holy Scriptures ; and a Suspicion and Jealousy of Those who would endeavour to set us right, where we may be mistaken. The Principles of a Protestant, generally pursu'd, would remove both these. When a Man is us'd to refer all his Religion to his Bible ; he'll sit loose from other Considerations which now adays commonly sway Men to Unscriptural Opinions and Practices ; and then it will be no hard Matter to set him right. And as long as other People treat him with Humanity, and upon the Foot of common Liberty ; he'll be willing to give Them the Hearing, if they debate a Matter of Religion with him ; because he can have no Room to suspect they have any ill Design upon him. How would *Christian Charity* then break out in the World with its Primitive Splendor ! Lesser Differences would not alienate the Minds of Those who agree in the same Rule of Faith and Practice ; and who are brought to unite in this Principle along with it, That each of them has an equal Right and Concern to judge for Himself by that Rule. If they behave as Protestants, One Man would charitably endeavour to inform Another better, where He thinks him in the Wrong ; and the other as candidly receive his kind and Christian Endeavours : But Neither would allow himself to entertain a Thought (tho' he had it in his Power) of murdering, or persecuting, or blackening his Fellow-Protestant, because they happen not to see all the same Things in their Bible.

A D V E R-



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Title of this Paper informs the *World* of the Manner in which it will appear: and the present Subject is a Second Specimen of the Author's Design. As Occasion offers and Circumstances of Affairs require, He is resolved to do the best Service He can to the best of Causes; the Cause of Truth, Liberty, and Catholick Christianity.

In this Design, as he knows who are like to be his Enemies, and defies before-hand the narrow soul'd Bigot, the Party-Men, the affected Sectarian, the lewd Profaner of the Name of Free-Thinker: So he promises Himself the Assistance of those Gentlemen, who shine in the Opposite Character; the Lovers of Truth wherever they can find it, of the Liberties of Mankind and their dear Country, where Truth and Liberty are yet preserved; and of real Goodness, and Religion without Distinction of Parties.

The Author restrains Himself from Nothing which may either instruct or entertain: He will Sometimes argue, Sometimes relate, Sometimes take off false Colours, stating Matters of Fact as they are, and Matters of Right as they ought to be. He will Sometimes tell his own Story; Sometimes anothers; Sometimes please Himself; Sometimes his Reader; Perhaps Sometimes Neither. But that he may the
oftner

oftner please All, He seriously desires the Learned and Ingenious, would suffer Him to insert as Little of his Own as possible:

The Gentlemen who now and then deal in Letters, Essays, Arguments, Descriptions, &c. their Contributions will meet with all due Regard, and be acknowledged in such a manner as they please; Directed to the Author of the Occasional Paper, at North's Coffee-House, King-Street, London. Post paid.



Lately Publish'd,

The Occasional Paper, Numb. 1. *An Essay on Bigotry.* Price 3d. Sold by R. BURLEIGH in Amen-Corner.

THE OCCASIONAL PAPER.

NUMBER III.

CONTAINING,

- I. Protestant Principles concerning
CIVIL GOVERNMENT.
- II. A brief Answer to the Charge of
SEDITION, urg'd by the Papists
against the Protestants in Germany.
- III. An Attempt to state Matters
truly, with reference to our 30th
of *January*.

As to Reason of State, Enmity with *Rome* hath been reputed the Stability of *England*; concerning which the Duke of *Rohan* hath deliver'd this Maxim, That besides the Interest which the King of *England* hath common with all Princes, he hath yet one particular; which is, that he ought thoroughly to acquire the Advancement of the Protestant Religion, even with as much Zeal as the King of *Spain* appears Protector of the Catholick.

[The Interest of *England* in the Matter of Religion, Printed in 1691.

LONDON:

Printed for R. BURLEIGH in *Amen-Corner*, and
J. HARRISON at the *Royal-Exchange*. 1716.

(Price Three Pence.)

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER

NUMBER III

CONTENTS

THE PRINCIPLES OF
THE ART OF
THE ART OF
THE ART OF



THE PRINCIPLES OF
THE ART OF
THE ART OF
THE ART OF

THE PRINCIPLES OF
THE ART OF
THE ART OF
THE ART OF

THE PRINCIPLES OF
THE ART OF
THE ART OF
THE ART OF



THE
Occasional Paper.

NUMBER III.

I. Protestant Principles concerning
CIVIL GOVERNMENT.



EXT to the Character of a Good *Christian*, the best and most useful a Man can have, is that of a Good *Patriot*. For after the Duty he owes to God, the next is to his Country. This must be reckon'd the first and chief Expression of Love to our Neighbour ; since every Man's Happiness in this World depends so many ways on the Peace and Prosperity of the publick, and the just and equal maintaining of the Laws and Government.

4 Protestant Principles concerning

The Protestant Reformation, tho' principally concern'd to restore Primitive Christianity, and rectify the many Abuses and Corruptions which the wicked Policy of *Rome* had introduced in Religion thro' several Ages; yet had some Concern also to restore the usurped Rights of Princes, and to promote the Welfare and Liberty of Mankind, by settling the Power of Magistracy on just and true Foundations.

This was one part of the Controversy between Papists and Protestants from the beginning of the Reformation. And therefore we find their Principles of Civil Government inserted in their publick Confessions; which shew a Protestant to be a much better Subject than a Papist, as his other Principles declare him a better Christian.

It may help to clear their publick Declarations on this Subject, to consider with what Views and upon what Occasions They made them.

The first Occasion They had to declare Themselves, was against the *Papal* Encroachments on Civil Power. They observ'd how far the Popes had gone to draw all Power to themselves. All Spiritual Persons must be exempted from Civil Jurisdiction in any Cause whatsoever. This was enlarg'd so far, that Pope *Paul* the Third aver'd, it was the unanimous Opinion of all Doctors, that even the Concubines of Priests belong'd to the Court Christian. To this Court the Popes endeavour'd to draw almost all Causes; either as properly Ecclesiastical, or by vertue of those
fruit-

fruitful Words, *In Order to Spirituals*; or by help of that general Rule, which they establish'd as a Matter of Faith and of Divine Right, That the Cognizance of all Causes devolves to the Ecclesiastical Court, when the Civil Magistrate either refuses to do Justice or neglects it. At the Beginning of the Reformation, The Protestants loudly complain'd of this oppressive Usurpation, and oppos'd it every where; for they saw that every step toward a Reformation was sure to be made ineffectual by the Pope's Claim of Supremacy over Spiritual Persons and Causes, as long as he was engag'd in Interest to oppose it, and had Power sufficient to hinder it. They saw too, that this Claim depriv'd the Civil Magistrate of his just Rights, transferr'd the Allegiance of his Subjects to a Foreign Power, and expos'd all Men to infinite Vexations and Troubles. The Reformed Churches therefore unanimously agreed, That all Persons, whether Spiritual or Temporal, and all such Causes as were usually call'd Ecclesiastical, did properly belong to the Cognizance and Jurisdiction of the several Civil Powers.

Here in *England* both the Parliament and Convocation concur'd to anull the Pope's Supremacy, and assert the Jurisdiction of the Crown over all Persons and Causes. 'The Bishop of *Rome* and his Adherents (says an * *Act of Parliament*) minding utterly as much as in them lay to abolish, obscure and delete the Power given by God to the Princes of the

* 37 Hen. 8. c. 17.

' Earth,

6 Protestant Principles concerning

‘ Earth, whereby they may gather and get to
‘ themselves the Government and Rule of the
‘ World, have in their Councils and Synods
‘ Provincial made, ordained and decreed di-
‘ vers Ordinances and Constitutions, which
‘ appear to make greatly for the Usurped
‘ Power of the Bishop of Rome, and to be
‘ directly repugnant to Your Majesty and Pre-
‘ rogative Royal.’

With the same View says the Convocation
which revis’d our Articles in Queen Elizabeth’s
‘ Time, (Art 37.) ‘ The Queen’s Majesty hath
‘ the chief Power in this Realm of England
‘ and other Her Dominions; unto whom the
‘ chief Government of all the Estates of this
‘ Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Ci-
‘ vil, doth in all Causes appertain: And is
‘ not, nor ought to be, subject to any Foreign
‘ Jurisdiction.’

The Foreign Protestants agreed in the same
Sentiments, and every where abolish’d this
Usurped Power, whereby (as They express it)
on pretence of the Power of the Keys the
Pope endeavour’d to transfer the Kingdoms of
the World to Himself; and deprive Princes of
their Rights. This is the Doctrine of a Pro-
testant, with respect to any Pretence or Claim
of Power or Jurisdiction Independant on the
Civil Magistrate or Superior to it.

The Protestants had very early Another Oc-
casion to declare their Judgment of the Power
of the Civil Magistrate; The wild and en-
thusiastical Opinions of some Persons pretend-
ing Reformation. There arose a Sect about
the Year 1527, which maintain’d all Civil Au-
thority to be unlawful, and that all Things
should

should be in common. These Principles of Anarchy and Confusion soon occasion'd great Disorders, and many Reflections on the Reformers. To clear Themselves from countenancing or abetting such pernicious Doctrines, and to check their Progress; They publicly declar'd, That Magistracy was an Ordinance of God: And tho' God had not prescrib'd any One Form of Government in Scripture; yet considering the Institution and Ends of Government, all Persons were to be subject to it, and for Conscience sake to yield Obedience to the Laws and Magistrates under which they liv'd, and from which they receiv'd the Benefit of Protection. ' We acknowledge, (*says the Confession of Scotland*) that Empires, Kingdoms and Dominions are ordain'd of God; That their Power and Authority is of His Appointment, whether of Emperors in their Empires, of Kings in their Kingdoms, of Princes in their Dominions, or other Magistrates in their Cities.'

' Every kind of Magistracy (*says the Helvetian Churches*) is instituted by God for the Peace and Happiness of Man. And all Subjects should own the Goodness of God in the Institution of a Magistrate, by honouring Him as the Minister of God. *So the Protestants of France*, We believe that God design'd the World should be govern'd by Laws and Polity, and kept in Order by this Means: That He has therefore appointed Kingdoms, Commonwealths, and the other Forms of Government, whether They do or do not descend by Hereditary Right.'

There

8 Protestant Principles *concerning*

There was yet a *Farther* remarkable Circumstance, which oblig'd Many of the Reformers to discover their Judgment about the Province of Civil Power: When They liv'd under a Government, which oppos'd the Reformation and persecuted those who embrac'd it. All Places were not so happy as to have their Rulers lead the Way, or concur in this Great Work: But many met with the utmost Opposition from their Princes; as in *Germany* and *Bohemia* from the Emperor and the King of the *Romans*; in *France* from their own Kings; in the *Netherlands* from the King of *Spain*; and the like in other Places. In these Circumstances the Protestants profess'd due Obedience to their respective Magistrates: And yet remembred and profess'd too, that they were to give to God the Things which were God's, as well as to Caesar the Things that were His. They declar'd This to be their Opinion by a constant Adherence to the Reformation, notwithstanding the several *Edicts* publish'd against them. And the same is the Language of their Publick Confessions: That the Province of the Civil Power is to protect the Civil Rights of the Subject, to suppress Injustice and Violence, and to promote the Civil Peace and Happiness of Mankind: But that it is not intended by God to govern the Mind and Conscience; which is a Jurisdiction He reserves to Himself: And when the Magistrate requires any Thing which God forbids, We are to obey God rather than Man.

By These Good and Just Foundations of Civil Government, which the Protestant Churches have declar'd to be Their Principles, We are

to expound the Expressions of Private Men among them ; or at least should not impute to the Body of Protestants any Private Opinions different from their General Sense. And to do Justice to our Wise and Pious Reformers, we must understand them according to their Design and Argument. It was proper to use very high Expressions of the Authority of the Magistrate over Ecclesiastical Persons and Causes, when they were representing the Injustice and mischievous Consequences of the Papal Usurpations on the Civil Power. But it would be unjust to put their Expressions on the Rack, and force a Meaning out of them inconsistent with that other Protestant Doctrine which they all avow'd ; That in the Matters of Religion and Salvation, the Authority of God in his Word is to be obey'd before, and against, any other Authority whatsoever. It was very wise and necessary in them to oppose the destructive Notions of Anarchy and Levelling ; to assert in the strongest Terms the Divine Institution of Government, and the necessary Submission of All Persons to the Laws and Magistracy in Being. But it cannot be suspected without manifest Injustice, That they pretended to alter the several Forms of Government which they found establish'd, and to reduce them all to one Standard and Model. They were sensible of the Benefits of Government, and took care to lay down such Principles as would establish its Authority every where, and in all its Forms : Never arrogantly pretending to reduce Kingdoms to Commonwealths ; or to serve their own Interests by mounting up a Lawless Pow-

10 Protestant Principles concerning

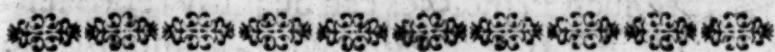
er to trample on a Free State and the Liberties of their Country.

They knew that to keep *Faith* with All Men was the great Bond of Civil Society : And that no Pretences of Religion could discharge the most sacred Religious Ties. As they held it to be Atheistical and Irreligious to take *Oaths* without an Intention of keeping them ; So They set a peculiar Mark of Infamy upon the Impious Pretence of any Power to cancel the Obligation of *Oaths*, as one of the worst Corruptions in all Popery.

Neither did They take upon Themselves to settle and determine the *Bounds* and *Extent* of Power in the several Governments and Constitutions of the World. These were things settled before by Law and Custom : And it was no part of their Business or Intention to intermeddle with 'em ; but They left them to the same Methods of Law and Providence, by which they had their Beginning, or arriv'd at their Present State

In short, The Scope of the Protestant Doctrine is This ; to divide from each other Things Sacred and Civil, as being every way distinct in Themselves ; that, if possible, the bad Consequences may be prevented, which their Confusion is like to produce under any Administration whatsoever. That on the one Hand, Religion and Conscience may not be subjected to the Arts of Policy, and corrupted by them : And on the other, that no Pretence to Conscience and Religion may erect a Power Independent of the Civil Government, and in its necessary Consequence destructive to it ; and so either restore the Papal Encroachments,
or

or introduce some other *Religious Tyranny* ; which can scarce ever be supported without the Loss of *Civil Liberty*.



II. *A brief Answer to the Charge of SEDITION urg'd by the Papists against the Protestants in Germany.*

ACcording to the Principles laid down in the foregoing Pages, the general Body of Protestants have prov'd themselves very Loyal and Dutiful Subjects. This I will stand to, tho' I know the Popish Writers have strenuously insisted on the contrary : Alledging, That the most horrible *Tumults* and *Insurrections* were raised by the Doctrines of the first Reformers. From hence it was, *Du Pin* says, that the Peasants in *Suabia* and other Parts of the *Empire* were encouraged to take up Arms ; so that in a little time all Germany was set on fire with this Flame.

Against which Charge, I think it is no hard Matter to justify the Principles I have laid down, if my Reader will have a little Patience with me. For, supposing, that from asserting Mens Right of Judging for themselves in Matters of Religion ; and telling them that the Authority of God in his Word is to be obey'd before, and against, any other Authority whatsoever ; supposing, I say, that from these Assertions some Men have taken occasion to create Disturbances, and to do Mischief ; yet is it

12 *The Troubles and Seditions in Germany*

just to ascribe Their Disorders to these Principles, without first considering their *Tempers, Manners,* and the *Outward Views* which they might act upon?

Before such Principles can be justly reproach'd by the Ill Actions of any who reputedly embrace them, these three Things must be prov'd; namely, That the Persons so acting have duly considered and weigh'd the Nature and Tendency of them, and are willing to behave themselves accordingly; That in those Actions which are criminal, they appear to have been guided *only* or *chiefly* by them; and that the Generality of Those who profess the same Principles, think themselves obliged to act in the *like manner*. Whereas none of these Things can be prov'd in the present Case; so far from being prov'd, that the Demonstration lies wholly on the other side in every particular.

Some became Troublers of the State thro' a meer *Enthusiasm*, and a wild Imagination of very great Things that were to be done by Them in the World: Others were drawn into a Rebellion by the Hopes of procuring a Redress of their *Civil Grievances*: And then in all such Tumults and Wars, the *most considerable* of the Protestants utterly disclaim'd the Proceedings of seditious and ill-affected Men.

The *first* of these Assertions needs no more to prove it, then only to put my Reader in mind of *Tho. Muncer*, and Those who were of the same Stamp. Men of roving and furious Spirits, that had no Understanding either of the Principles upon which the *Reformers* acted; or indeed of the common Principles of *Christianity*

ry itself. If the Reader will be at the Trouble of looking to the *Latin Quotation* at the bottom of the Page *, he will see what little reason the Papiſts have to reproach the Protestants with the Outrages committed or occasion'd by that vile Man. But rather than follow their Example of reviling whole Parties for the ſake of particular Perſons, I would always chuſe to throw ſuch Men and their Actions quite aſide, as being of no manner of Uſe, either to credit or diſcredit the Cauſe they eſpouſe.

My next Aſſertion is, That the Inſurrections in *Germany* were occaſioned, not by any Principles of Religion, but by the Multitude of *State Grievances*. Whoever will be at the Pains of conſulting the *History of Lutheraniſm*, writ by *Seckendorf*, will find this prov'd in every Rebellion that happened. Even the Generality of thoſe who joyn'd with *Muncer* himſelf had no other Views but their *Temporal Intereſt*. This appears from the *Maniſeſto of their Demands* which they preſented to the Magiſtrates: All which, except the firſt, were about their *Tythes*, or being uſed as *Slaves*, or their having a Liberty of *Hunting and Fiſhing*, and ſuch like Things: And the firſt Article, which was about Religion, only went thus far, That they

* *Munzerus* in Carcere ſuo, ----- non ſolum Errores ſuos revocavit, & Sacramento ſub una ſpecie uſus fuit, ſed & fidem Romanam profeſſus, & totus factus eſt Pontificius. Hoc etſi bonam ſpeciem habeat, veneno non caret; ut ex eo judicabis, quod in omnibus Erraſſe ſe agnovit, id eſt, quod vera etiam Evangelii Dogmata recantaverit. Ita ſcribit J. Ruhelius, tunc Mansfeldenſis, & Magdeburgicus Conſiliarius, in Epift. ad *Lutherum*. And in another Letter he adds, Ego illum pro homine deſperato habeo.

ſhould

14 *The Troubles and Seditions in Germany*

should have a Power to chuse their own Ministers to preach the Word of God in its Purity, without the Mixture of any Humane Traditions. This was insisted on in such a political Manner, that They are expressly charged by the *Lutherans*, as proposing no *Article* which was taught in any Part of the Gospel: But that All their Demands tended only to the obtaining some outward Advantages; whereas These are Things, *Luther* tells 'em, the Gospel does not meddle with. — And soon after he adds, * *What therefore have you to do with the Gospel, but only to give a false Colour to your Unchristian Attempts.*

Thus you may all along trace the Civil Wars, thro' the several Countries where they broke out afterwards, to some Grievances and Oppressions in the Government which gave Rise to them. But I shall content myself with inserting this one Passage out of *Sleidan*, That when the Boors had broke with the Government in *Schwaben*, on account of those Burdens which they thought intolerable; Others of their Neighbours presently took the same Course in rising up against their respective Magistrates †. And to this let me only add, That in many of the most violent Struggles, Men of all Religions, *Papists* as well as *Protestants* were engaged; and then I will leave it to any one to judge whe-

* Quid igitur vobis est cum Evangelio nisi quod pretextum ex eo sumitis conatibus vestris, qui nec Evangelici, nec Christiani sunt. Seckendorf Historia. Lib. 2. Sect. 3.

† -----propter onera quibus gravari se nimium querebantur: Idem & alii deinde vicini faciebant, in suum quisque Magistratum, &c. Lib. 4. Anno 1524. Vid. Martinus Crusius in Annalibus suevicis, Lib. 10. Seckendorf. Hist. Lib. 2. Sect. 4. Addit. 3.

not owing to the Protestant Religion. 15

ther, the Protestant Principles can justly be reproach'd on account of these Disorders: They were so far from being *chiefly* concern'd, that they were hardly concern'd *at all* in some, and in others but secondarily or more *remotely*. And I hope no Man loses his Natural Rights by becoming a *Protestant*.

My *third* Assertion will further settle this Matter; namely, That the most *considerable* of the *Protestants* always oppos'd violent and tumultuous Proceedings. For the Proof of which, I only desire their *declared Opinions* may be consulted. All kind of *Popular Tumults* we find frequently condemned, and in the strongest Terms imaginable *. The Ministers of the *Reformation* were directed, whenever they saw it necessary to reprove or censure Magistrates, to take care they avoided the Guilt of Reviling and Rebellion †. And to beware of that intemperate Heat, which some Preachers are subject to **. Yea, even when some of the *Princes* of the *Empire* were entring into a League for their own Security, They desir'd to have something writ upon that Question, *Whether, and how far, it may be lawful for Christians to make War*: A Treatise was accordingly publish'd, and it was well receiv'd, and its Tenets avowed both by those Princes themselves and their Adherents: Nothing but the Case of the *Danes*, therein refer'd to, being mention'd by the *Historian* as objected against. Here it is allow'd 'That

* Seckendorf. Hist. Lib. 2. Sect. 3. §. 3. &c. † Ibid. Sect. 9. §. 21. ** Concionatores cum novi sunt & recentes ex Fornace seu Officina prodeunt, omnia quæ dicunt magnum & Celerrimum putant fructum & effectum, habitura esse, &c. Ib.

16 *The Troubles and Seditions in Germany.*

‘ a War may lawfully be undertaken for certain Weighty and Important Reasons.’ But then these Restrictions are immediately subjoyn’d *. ‘ That the Cause be manifestly just ; and that Those who espouse it Act Defensively, not Offensively ; That they be not excited by Cruelty or Ambition ; but by a Concern for Truth and Right : ’Tis also insisted on, ‘ that Those who are engag’d in such a War act, with a serious Spirit, offering up continual Prayers to God : And then the *Common People* are altogether forbidden to make *War* upon their *Kings*, or *Magistrates* on such Pretences, which are only designed as a Rule for Princes and States to be governed by.

Now suppose it so happens, that notwithstanding all this, the Protestant Principles in some Instances were made to serve very Ill Designs ; yet that can by no means be urg’d as a sufficient Reason for rejecting them : Since at this rate every Good Principle in the World must be thrown away. For either thro’ the Weakness of some, or the Wickedness upon which others are bent, the Best Things may be perverted to serve the Worst Purposes. How common is it for Men, instead of *Religion*, only to embrace a *Cloud*, which at once, darkens the Heavens, and scatters Tempests all over the Earth ? And how often have we heard of such desperate Wickedness, as even to make the *Sacrament* it self a Seal to the most Vile, Treasonable, Murderous Vows and Engagements.

* Seckendorf. Hist. Lib. 2. Sect. 12. §. 30.

III. *An Attempt to state Matters truly with reference to our 30th of January.* p. 17.

Here let me put the Reader upon reviewing the Assertions on which I have been Arguing, by telling him; That whilst I was Considering the Troubles in *Germany*, I had also the Civil Wars of *England* in my Eye. These, I know it is fashionable to Impute to certain Principles in Religion; whereas, to me, nothing is more plain, or universally allow'd in all our *Histories*, than that *State Grievances* were the Cause of them. And the horrid Fact, which has made our 30th of *January* so Black a Day, ought in Justice to be ascribed to such Men in *England* as the Enthusiasts in *Germany*, not to any *Body of Protestants* whatsoever; The generality of Those who were then at the Head of Affairs most solemnly declaring against it, and doing all that ever they could to have prevented it.

If I am called a *Presbyterian* for these Assertions; 'tis hop'd that Charge will not sink the Credit of this Paper, whilst there are so many of the Wisest and Greatest Men now in the Nation so called; Yea, the very *Bishops* themselves, by the Logic of this Age, even whilst acting as *Bishops*, and maintaining to the utmost the Power and Jurisdiction of Such, are yet branded with the Name of *Rank Presbyterians*. This frightful Aspersions therefore shall not deter me, either from searching after

Truth, or owning what I am convinc'd is Truth: Where-ever I meet with any thing for the Support or Honour of the *Protestant* Principles, I'll value it, I'll make what use of it I can *against the Papists*; but I will not be confin'd by any Enchanted Circle of a Party to give the *Papists* an Advantage *against me*; especially at a time when they are openly seeking the Destruction of all true Friends to the present Government.

The Truth of the Matter is this, That the Peoples taking up Arms against King *Charles I.* was not the Effect of any Principles in Religion; but was purely a *State Quarrel* between the King and *Parliament*; arising from a Concurrence of many Causes which would occasion a Civil War at any time, and tho' there had been no such thing as the *Protestant* Religion in the World.

Dr. *Kennet* has fully prov'd that one of the leading Causes of that Quarrel, was the *Match with France*: Which began the Corrupting of our Nation with French Modes and Vanities; Betrayed our Councils to the French Court; weaken'd our Friends the Protestants in *France*; and sensibly lessen'd our Trade and Navigation. So that, as the Dr. observes, the Civil War began more out of Hatred to a French Party, than out of any Disaffection to the King. To strengthen this it may be proper here to insert that *French Maxim*, That 'tis more for the King's Interest to have many Daughters than Sons; Because by Marrying Princes out of the Kingdom They make advantagious Alliances, and are sure of Creatures in high Credit among their Neighbours. An *Eminent Author* of that Court

Court about 30 Years ago, counts it among the Presages of the Future Greatness of France, That *French Ladies* were to be found in all the Courts in *Europe*; accounting nothing too difficult for Them to bring about, who were possess'd of so many natural Charms, and every way accomplish'd in the Arts of Intreague and Insinuation. 'Tis certain, that by these means King *Charles* was led to shew fatal Friendship and Favour to the *Roman Catholics*.

In the beginning of his Reign, *Preferments* were bestow'd in Church † and State by Hands; the most hated and exceptionable to the House of *Commons*: Afterwards *Parliaments* were laid aside in a great measure; A *Council Table*, and *Star Chamber* undertaking to do all that belong'd to a *Parliament*, and much more. *Judges* were corrupted to make Law of every thing the Court found convenient.

These things even *Clergymen* too by their Doctrines promoted: Maintaining, ' That the King was not bound to observe the Laws of the Realm concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties. That the Authority of the Parliament was not necessary for the raising of Aids and Subsidies; and That the Kings Will and Command in imposing Loans and Taxes doth oblige the Subjects Conscience. With a great deal more in that Strain: As may be seen in *Rushworth's Collections*, where he is giving an account of Dr. *Manwaring*. And Archbishop *Abbot* was sequestred from his Office, because he refused to License a Sermon of Dr. *Sibthorp's* to the same purpose.

† Lord Clarendon's Hist. 8vo. Vol. 1. p. 25, 27.

The Grievances of the *Subject* hereupon rose very high, and spread very far. *Property* was every where broken in upon, and Men were Plundered in their Estates; My Lord *Clarendon* himself telling us, 'That Unjust Projects of all kinds were set on foot', ---- And, 'that the Determination of a corrupt Pack of Judges concerning *Ship-money* was a Logic that left no Man any thing that he could call his Own. †' *Liberty* was, together with *Property*, lost, and taken away: As my Lord *Clarendon* again relates, 'That five Subsidies were exacted throughout the whole Kingdom with the same Rigor, as if in Truth an Act had passed to that purpose **: and Divers Gentlemen of prime Quality in several Counties in *England*, for refusing to pay those Subsidies, were committed to Prison with great Rigor and extraordinary Circumstances. And what now remain'd but *Life* that could be struck at? No wonder if upon the News of a dreadful *Massacre* in *Ireland* of fifty Thousand Protestants, there was a Universal Fear, in this Nation, even of *Life* itself being cut off, under such a wretched Administration.

These were the *real Causes* of the Civil War. For a Civil War it ought to be call'd at the first, tho' it prov'd a *Rebellion* at the last. Whilst the Parliament proceeded regularly, and according to their appointed Methods, such is the *English Constitution* as to tender it equally improper to say, that a Parliament rebels against the King, or that the King rebels a-

* Vol. I. Octavo. p. 67, 68. † Ib. p. 69. ** Ib. p. 5. gainst

gainst a Parliament*. It may perhaps be for the Information of some in this Age to add, That in the whole House of Commons which declared War against the King there was not more than *Six* who *dissented* from the *Establish'd Church*: So that the Ground of the Controversie must be *State Grievances*: And thus the Declaration of Parliament runs, 'That from the beginning of his Majesty's Reign, there had been a malignant and pernicious Design of subverting the Fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of the Kingdom was establish'd.

I know there were very warm Debates, about this Time, concerning the *Arminian Tenets* in Religion: But this Controversy lay chiefly among *Churchmen*; and was as hotly debated among the *Papists*, as *Protestants*; yea, my Lord *Clarendon* says, that it was managed with more *Vehemence and Uncharitableness** between the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* than betwixt the Contending Parties here: And yet without disturbing the Civil Peace, or going into Civil Wars.

It must also be observed, that there was a great deal of Warmth in disputing about the Government and Discipline of the Church: But this was manifestly owing to the illegal and tyrannous Proceedings of Archbishop *Laud*, and his Party: my Lord *Clarendon* in this Case also witnessing †, 'That some Bishops at Court not

* See this argued at large in a Book intitled, *Revolution and Anti-Revolution Principles stated and compar'd*, &c. printed in 1714, Page 47, 48. See also *Grotius's Opinion*, as produc'd by Mr. Stanhope in his Speech at Dr. Sacheverell's Trial. * Vol. I. p. 92, 93. † Vol. I. p. 283.

The Grievances of the *Subject* hereupon rose very high, and spread very far. *Property* was every where broken in upon, and Men were Plundered in their Estates; My Lord *Clarendon* himself telling us, 'That Unjust Projects of all kinds were set on foot', --- And, 'that the Determination of a corrupt Pack of Judges concerning *Ship-money* was a Logic that left no Man any thing that he could call his Own. † *Liberty* was, together with *Property*, lost, and taken away: As my Lord *Clarendon* again relates, 'That five Subsidies were exacted throughout the whole Kingdom with the same Rigor, as if in Truth an Act had passed to that purpose **: and Divers Gentlemen of prime Quality in several Counties in *England*, for refusing to pay those Subsidies, were committed to Prison with great Rigor and extraordinary Circumstances. And what now remain'd but *Life* that could be struck at? No wonder if upon the News of a dreadful *Massacre* in *Ireland* of fifty Thousand Protestants, there was a Universal Fear, in this Nation, even of *Life* itself being cut off, under such a wretched Administration.

These were the *real Causes* of the Civil War. For a *Civil War* it ought to be call'd at the first, tho' it prov'd a *Rebellion* at the last. Whilst the Parliament proceeded regularly, and according to their appointed Methods, such is the *English Constitution* as to tender it equally improper to say, that a Parliament rebels against the King, or that the King rebels a-

* Vol. I. Octavo. p. 67, 68. † Ib. p. 69. ** Ib. p. 5. gainst

gainst a Parliament*. It may perhaps be for the Information of some in this Age to add, That in the whole House of Commons which declared War against the King there was not more than *Six* who *dissented* from the *Establish'd Church*: So that the Ground of the Controversie must be *State Grievances*: And thus the Declaration of Parliament runs, 'That from the beginning of his Majesty's Reign, there had been a malignant and pernicious Design of subverting the Fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of the Kingdom was establish'd.

I know there were very warm Debates, about this Time, concerning the *Arminian Tenets* in Religion: But this Controversy lay chiefly among *Churchmen*; and was as hotly debated among the *Papists*, as *Protestants*; yea, my Lord *Clarendon* says, that it was managed with more *Vehemence and Uncharitableness** between the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* than betwixt the Contending Parties here: And yet without disturbing the Civil Peace, or going into Civil Wars.

It must also be observed, that there was a great deal of Warmth in disputing about the Government and Discipline of the Church: But this was manifestly owing to the illegal and tyrannous Proceedings of Archbishop *Laud*, and his Party: my Lord *Clarendon* in this Case also witnessing †, 'That some Bishops at Court not

* See this argued at large in a Book intitled, *Revolution and Anti-Revolution Principles stated and compar'd, &c.* printed in 1714, Page 47, 48. See also *Grotius's Opinion*, as produc'd by Mr. Stanhope in his Speech at Dr. Sacheverell's Trial. * Vol. I. p. 92, 93. † Vol. I. p. 283.

only meddled with Things which in Truth were not properly within their Cognizance, but extended their Sentences and Judgments in Matters triable before them beyond what was justifiable. And indeed after the House of Commons had appointed a Committee to make Discovery of the Numbers of oppress'd Ministers under the Bishops Tyranny, from 1630 to 1640, it was impossible to prevent the Fury of the ensuing Contentions, till such Disorders were regulated. And Those who had any Value for the Reformed Religion, tho' far from being of the Party then call'd Puritans, were thoroughly alarm'd at this Observation; That the Designs of suppressing Puritans and complying with Papists in this Nation, had their Beginning both at once, and proceeded in equal Paces.

It was therefore purely Reasons of State, and not an avowing of their Principles in Religion, which induc'd the Parliament to favour the Opposers of Episcopacy: And it was only in Consequence of the Parliaments espousing and maintaining the Cause of Civil Liberty that These Men went into their side.

So that all these Things being laid together, they must convince every Impartial Reader, That Religion was not the direct Cause of the Civil War, but national Grievances and Oppressions. The Constitution was in the utmost Danger of being overthrown, Property was invaded, Liberty lost, Life itself seemingly at Stake; And in such Circumstance of Things the English Nation must have gone into a Civil War, whatever Religion had been establish'd. For the same Reason that there have often been Civil Wars in Popish Times and in other Popish

pish Countries, while any Sense of Liberty remained among them.

But when this War became a *Rebellion* by being prosecuted, *without*, yea *against*, the Direction and Authority of *Parliament*, then it was Time for all wise and honest Men to declare their Abhorrence of it. When the Leaders of the Army took upon them to break up the Parliament, and to exclude and turn out Members as they saw fit; when the wildest *Enthusiasm* took Place of all Religion; no Wonder if a few frantick or ambitious Men made havock of all before them. These were the Hands that shed the *Blood* of the *King*, whilst the Body of the People every where look'd upon the Fact with Detestation.

' *It is therefore*, says a learned *Prelate*, a most unjust Biemish cast on the Protestant Religion, or the *English* Nation, to accuse either the one or the other for that, which was but the Crime of a few hot headed Enthusiasts or ambitious Soldiers *. And a little after he adds, ' That Those who raise Accusations of this kind, may as justly accuse the Protestant Religion of Adultery and Theft, because some among us have been avowedly guilty of these Sins.

The same *Bishop* farther tells us, ' That many of the most considerable Dissenters did even then, when it was not so safe to do it as it is now, openly declare against the Sufferings of the King, both in their Sermons and Writings. This is what in Justice cannot be deny'd them. But 'tis sufficient to my present

* *Fast-Sermon*, preach'd before the Aldermen of the City of London, in 1680-1. by Dr. Burnet. p. 16.

Purpose to observe, that the *Presbyterians*, being then in the Government, did enough to vindicate the Protestant Principles in general, tho' not enough to prevent a great deal of Oidium being thrown upon themselves: And 'tis the Protestant, without a Regard to any Party that I am only concern'd to defend. So that I am not willing to loose this Declaration in favour of the Protestant Principles, tho' it came from *Presbyterians*. 'We hold ourselves bound in
 ' Duty to God, Religion, the King, Parlia-
 ' ment, and Kingdom, to profess before God,
 ' Angels and Men, that we verily believe that
 ' which is so much feared to be now in agi-
 ' tation [*The taking away the Life of the King in*
 ' *the present Way of Trial*] is not only not agreeable
 ' to the Word of God, the Principles of the Prote-
 ' stant Religion (never yet stained with the least
 ' Drop of the Blood of a King) or the Funda-
 ' mental Constitution and Government of this
 ' Kingdom; but contrary to them, &c.

Thus I think the Protestant Principles stand fully cleared from all the Imputations of Sedition and Rebellion which have been cast on them by the Papists and their Friends.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Any kind of Letters, Essays, Extracts out of valuable Authors, or Intelligence of any Affairs which may serve the first declared Intention of this Paper, will be thankfully received, if directed to the Author of the Occasional Paper, to be left at North's Coffee-House, King's-street, near Guild-Hall, London, Post paid.

A SUPPLEMENT to the OCCASIONAL
PAPER, N^o. III. *being some farther
Thoughts upon the 30th of January.*



HIS Anniversary *Fast*, as managed of late Years, has plainly serv'd a *Popish* Interest, more than the Interest either of the State or of Religion. And could some *Church* Enthusiasts have had their Will, they would soon have introduced all the Confusion and Calamities which the *Dissenting* Enthusiasts formerly occasion'd. 'Tis happy for this Nation that such as were possess'd with this *Frenzy* are remov'd from the Management of Publick Affairs; and that Those who were transported by it into open Rebellion have met with so early, and effectual a Check. For could they have prevail'd either by their Counsels or their Arms, we must have bid Farewel to every thing that is dear, and valuable to us, both as *Englishmen* and *Protestants*.

Many of Those who are called *Tories* did not, I believe, intend to serve the Papists by what they have Said and Done: Nor can some of them, even to this Day, be convinc'd that They are under any thing of a *Popish* Influence; Tho' 'tis demonstrable They have writ, and talk'd, and acted in the same manner with the Papists. Where They have differ'd it has generally turn'd against Them: What was Good Sense for a Papist to assert, has become downright Nonsense, and attended with manifest Contradiction when maintain'd by a Protestant: And whereas the Papists, of late, have acted with some Openness and Honesty, These Men have shewn themselves the most treacherous and perfidious.

A

Their

Their Sight is so short, and their Spirits so contracted, that if they can but gratify a Splematic Humour and a *private* Resentment, they never regard what Mischief they do to the *Publick*, nor how far their Country and the Reform'd Religion are expos'd by them.

At this Juncture therefore it will be proper to direct both the *Papists*, and their Adherents the *Tories*, to apply to themselves the *Satyrs* publish'd against Rebellion.

A late *Bishop*, in a Sermon on the 30th of *January*, says, " That one Ill Effect of this Days
" Bloodshed, which still continues, is, the Preju-
" dice that the Enemies of our Church have cast
" on the Reformed Religion ; as holding that
" very Doctrine of *Killing Kings* for which
" They had been so justly charged : And I
think it is prov'd to be very *justly* in the
following Passages, which I shall transcribe.

" The Power of Deposing Kings is cer-
" tainly a Doctrine of Their (the *Roman*)
" Church, as appears in the universal Agree-
" ment to it, by the Tradition of it for a-
" bove five Ages, in a more uninterrupted
" and uncontroverted Series, in all that time,
" than can be shewed even for Transubstantia-
" tion itself. Now if a King is deposed by
" the Pope, and after such Deposition is not
" so tame as to lay aside his Regal Dignity,
" which it is very likely few Princes will do,
" then They being lawfully depos'd, are
" Kings no more : And if they pretend to be
" Kings still, they are Usurpers : So He that
" kills them does not kill a King, but an U-
" surper ; And if a Pope creates a new Prince,
" which by the same Authority is vested in
" him, and is indeed a Branch of the deposing
" Power, then the new Prince may as justly
" authorize

“ authorize any to kill the deposed King, as
 “ a lawful King may set a Price upon any
 “ Rebel’s Head. *Swarez* writing against King
 “ *James* tells him in plain Terms, That a
 “ King who is canonically deposed may be killed
 “ by any private Man whatsoever *. *Valentia*
 “ says, † That an Heretical Prince may, by the
 “ Pope’s Sentence, be deprived of Life. And *Be-*
 “ *canus*, tho’ Confessor to an Emperor, *Fer-*
 “ *dinand* II. says, ** No Man doubts but if
 “ Princes are contumacious, the Pope may order
 “ their Lives to be taken away. And tho’ *Gerson*,
 “ one of the best Men of his Age, did at the
 “ Council of *Constance*, press much for the ob-
 “ taining of a Decree, That no Subject should
 “ Murder his King or Prince, even that could
 “ not easily pass: And He himself was in dan-
 “ ger of his Life for solliciting it so earnestly.
 “ In Conclusion it was done only thus, con-
 “ demning Those who killed their King with-
 “ out waiting for the Sentence of any Judge
 “ whatsoever: So that if Sentence be pass’d by
 “ any Judge (Ecclesiastical as well as Civil) it
 “ will be lawful for a Subject to kill his King.
 “ *Sixtus* V. made a Panegyricque upon *Cle-*
 “ *ment*’s murdering *Henry* III. of France, before
 “ a Congregation of Cardinals. *Francis Verona*
 “ wrote both in Defence of that Fact, and of
 “ *Chastell*’s Attempt on *Henry* IV. *Garnet* and
 “ *Hall*, that suffered for the most desperate
 “ Attempt that ever was, the *Gunpowder-Treason*,
 “ are reckoned among the Martyrs in the Je-
 “ *suites* Catalogues; and under the Pictures
 “ and Prints made for *Garnet*, he is called,
 “ The true Martyr of Christ.” There is much
 more to this Purpose.

* *In. Reg. Majest. Brit. lib. 6. c. 4. Sect. 10.* † *In. Thom. Tom. 3. Disp. 151. g. 4. p. 1.* ** *Cont. Ang. p. 115.*

And besides other Things, it were easy to shew the Part which the Papists acted even in the Contentions of 1641. both by a holy Cardinal in *Scotland*, by their bloody Butchers in *Ireland*, and by a Popish Queen and her Attendants in the *English* Court. P. D'Orleans the Jesuit, frankly gives up the Cardinals *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, to all the Imputations they have lain under, as to the Manner wherein they favoured the Troubles in *England*, and the Death of the King *.

But I forbear enlarging farther as to the Papists, that I may have Room to offer something to the Consideration of their High Allies and Adherents in our modern Tumults and Seditions.

These Men, whilst they have endeavoured to distinguish themselves by the most lamentable Outcries against the former Rebellion, are running into and defending a present Rebellion, which is much more Unreasonable in itself, and much more to be dreaded in its plain and necessary Consequences. For this Rebellion cannot prevail without making either Sacrifices or Slaves both of Us and of Posterity.

It would amaze One to hear what work is made with the Sacredness of King Charles's Person, and to what a prodigious Height the Doctrine of Submission is carried as to Him, when at the same time K. George is treated as if there was nothing sacred in his Character, nor any Submission due to him. But we know what sort of Men those were, who pretended to Honour the dead Saints, whilst they destroy'd the living.

'Tis certain that King Charles I. had not a better Title to the Allegiance and Subjection of the People, than King George now has. If

* *Histoire des Revolutions d' Angleterre*, p. 32. Ed. Amst.

the *Predecessors* of his *present* Majesty have had their *Titles* to the Crown oppos'd and disputed; so also were the *Titles* of *Q. Elizabeth* and *K. James I.* And after a Variety of Attempts against *Q. Elizabeth* prov'd Unsuccessful, a Book was writ under the Name of *Doleman*, (being a Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of *England*) in which the *Scotch Title* was wholly Excluded, to set up that of the *Infanta* of *Spain*. Nevertheless when *K. James*, contrary to Expectation, quietly succeeded to the Crown of *England*, the Contrivers and Spreaders of that Book had the Impudence to deny that ever they intended his Exclusion. In the same manner 'tis well known what Court was made to the late *Q. Ann* by some Men pretending to own *her Title*, after they had many times over deny'd it in every thing they had writ and spoken against the *Title* of her *Sister*, and the *Revolution*.

But 'tis alledg'd that King *James I.* was afterward settled by an *Original Contract*; in which the *Parliament*, and by Them the People, laid themselves under Obligations from that time to defend King *James* and his *Progeny* to the last drop of their Blood.

Now, if *this Contract* be made use of to serve the Purposes of Them who are for immediate Hereditary Right; They must allow Those that are contending for Liberty to insist upon other *Contracts* made in a *Parliamentary way*, both before and since. If *that Parliament* had a Power to make such a Settlement, Other *Parliaments* must have the same Right and Authority, whenever the Peace and Good of the Kingdom makes it requisite for them to undertake this Matter. And *Prior Contracts* may be urg'd as determining the Obligations we
are

are under to observe and comply with *That*.

However, the Contest is in reality at present betwixt a regular known Branch of K. *James's* Family, and a spurious or at least a suspected one. K. *James I.* being acknowledg'd the Great Grandfather of K. *George*, whereas the Relation assum'd by the *Pretender* in *Scotland*, is a common Jest.

Let that go as far as it can, what I would chiefly lay a stress upon is this; That never was a *Succession* settled in any preceding Ages like that in the House of *Hanover*: Agreed to by different Princes and different Parliaments: Confirm'd and strengthened by several *Acts*: Openly, and in their public Characters, declared for, by All that were intrusted with the Ministry of Public Affairs whatever Party they were of: Solemnly mention'd, and so continually impress'd upon Peoples Minds, by Speeches from the Throne: And the late *Queen* providentially taken away without so much as a *Will*, or a Dying Word that can be legally produc'd to give any Difficulty in this Affair. Hereupon, He who was thus invested with a Right to the Crown, has been actually put into Possession; whilst Clergy and Laity, Nobles, and Commons have Sworn to Him throughout the whole Nation. His Administration hitherto has demonstrated Virtues uncommon to Kings: His Parliament are perfectly One with him: His Soldiers True and Brave, notwithstanding all the Boasts that were made of their being false and corrupted: His Negotiations in Foreign Courts have succeeded to a Wonder: His very Enemies fear him: And Almighty God has shewn by these things, and many more, He has determin'd to Honour, and to Prosper him.

Now if Men will pretend to dispute Submission

mission and Obedience after all this, their Wickedness and Rebellion, must be vastly aggravated beyond That of their Predecessors let them make it as black as they can.

Here is a King that in no one Instance has attempted to make any thing a Law without Consent of Parliament ; That has invaded no Man's Property to Raise Mony by secret Counsels or Unjust Projects : That has struck at the Liberty and Ease of none of his Faithful Subjects : Yea, that has shown the utmost Mercy and Clemency the Laws would admit, even to Traytors and Rebels themselves : So that if the Rebellion against King *Charles I.* was really Impious and Damnable, This against King *George* is much more so.

I am sensible that such things have been suggested to the Common People, both before and since his Majesty's Accession, as have rais'd very great Apprehensions of the *Church's* Danger from his Administration ; And 'tis not easie to make 'em quit such Apprehensions, however Wise or Good the Government may prove. But the more difficult this is, the more must Those Men have to Answer for, who were the Authors or Abettors of such Suggestions.

It may much more properly be said of the *Present* than it is, by a late *Historian*, of the former Rebellion ; " That it is a Subject of Wonder how the Leaders of the Faction could
 " improve Feathers and Flies into such dreadful Monsters ; and affright People with Shadows as effectually as with the most real
 " and substantial Beings. But such is the Art
 " of Managers in an Ill Cause to raise Apparitions that terrifie more than living Bodies.
 " And such is the Infirmary of the Lower
 " part of Mankind, that they sooner believe
 " their

“ their Imagination than their Eyes ; and to
 “ apprehend an Evil makes a deeper Impression
 “ than the *feeling* of it.

Farther, as there is no just *Cause* for raising the present Rebellion, so there is no *Authority* to support it. Those who took up Arms against King *Charles I.* had their Commissions from the Lords and Commons, which make Two Parts of the Legislature ; but our Rebels now, rise in Defiance of King, Lords, and Commons together, at a Time when there is the most thoro'ly good Understanding, and the most intire Agreement between them.

And then, to render their Wickedness as great as they could, They are Rebelling in Contradiction to their avowed *Principles* of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, and in Spite of their repeated *Oaths*, both of *Allegiance* and *Abjuration*. A Degree of *Impiety* This is, that nothing but an Eye to *Rome* in Mens Principles, or a desperate *Rage* in their Spirits, and a *Devil* possessing their Hearts, could have excited them to. But as Archbishop *Tillotson* speaks of *Transubstantiation* in *Po-pery*, so may I say of *Perjury* in the present Rebellion, 'tis as a *Milstone* hung about the Neck of the *Pretender's Cause*, which will sink it at the last. And I am perswaded it will sink very suddenly too, whatever Those who adhere to it may imagine. If for all this Men will not be perswaded to quit an Impious and a Sinking Cause, They have nothing reasonably to expect but that They shou'd be Set up as Monuments of Infamy and Vengeance to all succeeding Generations.

F I N I S.

THE OCCASIONAL PAPER.

NUMBER IV.

AN EXPEDIENT FOR

Peace among all Protestants.

In a LETTER to the AUTHOR of
The Occasional Paper.

Since we hold our Temporal Estates and Liberties not by virtue of our Christianity, but as we are Members of the State or Kingdom to which we belong; our doing any thing that is only contrary to our Religion (and no State Crime) ought not to be carried so far as to cut off those Rights, that we have antecedent to our Christianity, as we are Men and Subjects of a Civil Government.----- to worship God according to our Conviction is an essential Right of human Nature antecedent to all human Government, and can never become subject to it.

Burnet's Preface to Lactantius of the Deaths of Persecutors.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. BURLEIGH in Amen-Corner. 1716.
(Price Three Pence.)

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER

Vol. 11

1913

Part 1

No. 1



Printed by the Royal Society

London

1913

Part 1

No. 1

Printed by the Royal Society

London



A N
E X P E D I E N T
F O R
Peace among all *Protestants*.



THE Writer of the following Letter has shewn so distinguishing a Respect to the Author of this Paper, that I look upon it as a just Return of his Civility, to gratify him in the Publication of it. Not pretending to say one thing or other that should byass my Reader, but leaving every one to judge according to his own Sense of Things.

To the AUTHOR of the
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

S I R,

Looking over the Papers you have already Publish'd, besides the Entertainment there is to the Curious, in the Variety and Management of the Subjects, I enjoy'd a most exquisite Pleasure in my own Mind, arising from the Apprehension, that you are leading us directly to the True Remedy of all our Disorders both

4 *An EXPEDIENT for Peace*

in Church and State. You are laying the Foundation of that Felicity, which every Soul that loves his Country most passionately desires. For, if you can but help Men to throw off that *Bigotry* they have been deceiv'd into, (for it belongs neither to the Religion nor Complexion of *Britons*) and to join the Protestant *Temper* to the Protestant *Principles*, as They are the Best in the World, so shall we then be the Happiest People under Heaven. Friendship, Good Neighbourhood, Common Sense and a Common Interest, would unite the State; Goodness and Love, Charity and mutual Forbearance, would once more dare to lift up their Heads; with all the Other Graces that only can adorn the Church. This would begin a new *Æra*, that should take its Name from *Liberty* and *Truth*.

A Golden Age opened to my Imagination, upon the Reading those Passages in your *Number II*. “ A Protestant must be ready to allow
 “ to another that Liberty which as a Prote-
 “ stant he claims for himself; that is, to Re-
 “ form as he can best understand the Scrip-
 “ ture: Not to be angry with another for
 “ differing from him, but believe his Neigh-
 “ bour to have as much Right to the Liberty
 “ of his Conscience, as he has to his own.
 “ Honest Men with such Protestant Charity
 “ would soon agree in all things necessary:
 “ and the small Differences which might re-
 “ main among them, would do little Harm to
 “ Themselves, no hurt at all to the General
 “ Interest of the Protestant Cause, and be eve-
 “ ry way consistent with the Well-being both
 “ of Church and State.----- When a Man is
 “ used

among all PROTESTANTS. §

“ used to refer all his Religion to his Bible,
“ he’ll sit loose to all other Considerations
“ which now-a-days commonly sway Men to
“ unscriptural Opinions and Practices ; and
“ then it will be no hard matter to set him
“ right ; and as long as other People treat him
“ with Humanity, and upon the foot of *Common Liberty*, he’ll be willing to give them the
“ Hearing if they debate a Matter of Religion
“ with him ; because he can have no Reason
“ to suspect they have any ill Design upon him.
“ How would Christian Charity then break
“ out in the World with its Primitive Splendour ! Lesser Differences would not alienate
“ the Minds of those who agree in the same
“ Rule of Faith and Practice ; and who are
“ brought to unite in this Principle along with
“ it, That each of them has an equal Right
“ and Concern to judge for himself by that
“ Rule. If they behave as Protestants, one
“ Man would charitably endeavour to inform
“ another better where he thinks him in the
“ wrong, and the other as candidly receive
“ his kind and Christian Endeavours : But
“ neither would allow himself to entertain a
“ Thought (tho’ he had it in his Power) of
“ murdering, or persecuting, or blackening his
“ Fellow-Protestant, because they happen not
“ to see all the same things in their Bible.

Now, Sir, if you will undertake that *this* is the Protestant Religion and Temper, I will not scruple to assert, that the *Protestant Religion* is not establish’d, till *This* is establish’d ; and till all Laws contrary to this be abolish’d, and these Principles made Fundamental to our Constitution. This will make all Protestants
easy.

6 *An* EXPEDIENT *for* Peace

easy, safe, and happy; free from all Apprehensions of Suffering any thing hereafter, the one from the other, upon account of those Matters wherein People may differ, and will differ, to the end of the World. No body will suffer any Hardship; none will be distress'd, in Name, Body, or Estate; nor depriv'd of any Part of his *Birth-right* for the sake of differing Sentiments; but an *equal* and *impartial* Liberty will be allow'd to all good Subjects. This the *Christian Religion* commands as Duty: this the *Protestant Religion* supposes in its Nature: And this the *Policy* of the best Government requires, in order to its greater Safety, Ornament, and Strength. And if you can successfully recommend This to the Government, you will deserve more from it than if you had found out the *Longitude*; as much more, as Health and Soundness to the vital Parts, is beyond the Benefit of what is meerly Adventitious and External.

This would unite us at home, and give us weight abroad. It would be hard to conjecture what People could quarrel about, when once the *Agreeing to Differ* has rid all Parties of Protestants from any fear of Hardships, and is become a Maxim, or Law of our State, as it is already a Precept of our Religion.

I know very well who are the People that will stamp and throw Dust into the Air, at such a Motion as this. The Papists to a Man: The Gentlemen in a *French* Interest: The Bigot, who has had it industriously conceal'd from him, that this equal Liberty is the common Right of Good Subjects, and a Precept of Christian Religion: And all such Directors
of

of Consciences, who have led their Votaries to an Halter, and there with great Gravity taken their Leave. Those who count it one of the Grievances of the present Government, that the Goals are filled with Traitors, Rioters and Perjur'd Rebels, instead of being fill'd with Fanaticks and Schismaticks. In a Word, you may be sure of the direct and united Opposition of Hell and Rome, the sworn Enemies of *Liberty and Truth*, who will Tolerate none where they are able to destroy, nor suffer us to endure one another.

When we speak of this Free and Impartial Liberty, we may consider it, with respect to *Private Persons* one to another, or with respect to the *Publick*.

With respect to *Private Persons*, I mean, that mutual Forbearance, which private People should express to one another in their single Capacity; a charitable Temper and Behaviour towards their Neighbour. Such as is the genuine Result of *Protestant Principles*, and the Reverse of *Bigotry*. It were easy to show how plainly and largely this is enjoin'd in the Holy Scripture. No Part of Worship, no Instance of Duty, more plain. So that to borrow a Turn of Words that has been often made use of to a different Purpose, we say, that, as for the disputable Matters, they are doubtful, but this is past doubt on all Sides, that are acquainted with their Bible, that, we must *Forbear one another in Love. That we must not judge another Man's Servant; to his own Master he stands and falls. But this judge rather, that no Man lay a stumbling Block, or an Occasion to fall in his Brother's Way. That we must not set at Nought,*

Nought, nor Despise our Brother. We must receive our Brother, but not to doubtful Disputations. Such and such things are doubted by a weak Brother, but it's no doubt whether these be the true Sayings of God, and therefore a Part of Christianity ; and such a Part of Christianity too, without which, all Faith, Gifts, Languages ; giving all our Goods to the Poor, our Body to be burnt (Martyrdom) leaves the fine Preacher, the great Scholar, the zealous Man for any thing else, a tinkling Cymbal and sounding Brass. What then must that Mortal be, who tramples this Charity under foot, in the scuffle for a few Rituals ? How come People so unacquainted with their Bible ? What is it that Men have substituted in the room of it ? The Ten Commandments are plain, and stand written generally over our Communion Tables : So are those Commandments as plain ; Let every Man be persuaded in his own Mind. Hast thou Faith have it to thy self. Follow the things that make for Peace, &c. Thou shalt not steal, is not a plainer prohibition from God, than this, Let no Man lay a stumbling Block, nor put an Occasion of Falling before his Brother, and deserves as well to be written in Letters of Gold. The Word of God forbids all hard and uncharitable Surmises, Reproaches, and bitter Reflections ; all opprobrious Names, false Charges and Imputations, merely on the account of Opinions and Practices in Religion, different from our selves. If Men in their private Capacities were instructed as they ought to be, to bear with their Fellow Christians, it would soon bring about that Liberty which is more Publick, and which I chiefly intend.

That

That free and impartial Liberty which the *Publick* can give may be describ'd: An exemption of all those who are otherwise good Subjects, from any Penalties or Sufferings, Deprivations or Hardships, meerly for suppos'd Mistakes in Matters of Religion; and this publick Freedom and Liberty consider'd in its proper Latitude, will respect both the *State* and the *Church*.

As they are two Societies every way *distinct* from each other, the Cognizance they have of Mens Actions, and Opinions, with the Effects of them, must be very different from each other too. And tho Heaven and Earth are not more different than they are in their Nature, Institutions and Administrations; yet how have they been blended, and confounded, by long Usage and Custom, to the inconceivable Damage both of *Church* and *State*? It is this that has rais'd the Dispute of the *Regale* and *Pontifical*. While this Confusion remains, the Quarrels betwixt them must be endless. For a Christian *Church* has Rights which it ought not, cannot give up to the Civil Power; and the *State*, on the other hand, can never with Wisdom depart from the sole Right to Civil Authority and Coercion. If then the Opinions of the Church must be enforc'd with Civil Penalties, either the Church must at all Times form its Opinions according to the Will of the Civil Magistrate, which destroys the Church; or the Magistrate must give up his Sword to the Church, to be directed and used according to its Will and Decrees, which destroys the State. But to suppose them every way distinct, as indeed they are, and ought to be,

preserves to each their respective Rights, without any Prejudice to each other, or clashing among themselves. The observing of this will help to settle the just Principles of Religious Freedom, with respect to both, and what is to be born with in each Society.

To begin then with the *State*. It is the Business of the Civil Magistrate to see, *Ne quid Detrimenti capiat Respublica*. It is an Institution design'd only for the procuring, preserving, and advancing, the Civil Interests: such as Life, Liberty, Indolency of Body, in the Possession of the Fruits of our lawful Industry; and all the Privileges of Birth-Right that have not been forfeited to the Government by any State Crime. Now as Men by their Opinions may be many ways dangerous to the Peace, nay to the very Being of a State: those Evils must be prevented by any Methods the State is impower'd to use for its own Preservation; and it may justly use the Sword where gentler Means are not sufficient. That you may be out of all Pain for our Publick Order and Civil Constitution, and to let you see, Sir, that I am not going to pull down the Fences and let in Confusion, the empty Clamour usually rais'd upon the Patrons of Liberty; I say, that in such Cases where the Civil Peace, and the Being of a State, is endanger'd, no Pretences whatsoever of Conscience or Religion, are a Bar to the Civil Jurisdiction. Such are all avow'd Opinions subversive of Human Societies, or the particular Governments where Men dwell.

Such

Such as *deny* all Government, so as neither to support, defend, nor submit to it. This is such a Defiance to God, the Nature of Things, to Reason and common Humanity, that these Persons forfeit the Protection and Privileges of a Government they deny. But we hardly in an Age, hear of any Enthusiasm so wild as this. The avow'd *Atheist*, and such as profess themselves to be under no religious Restraints, have no Right to a Toleration. For these dissolve the great Bond of all Society. Government can have no Security from such Persons. Promises, Covenants, and Oaths, which are the Bonds of Human Society, can have no hold upon an Atheist: the taking away of God, tho but in Thought, dissolves all. And tho the Civil Magistrate cannot reach the Thought; and therefore while it is only Thought, can have nothing to do with it, yet if it be avowed, it becomes Matter for his Animadversion; and so much the more, as those who by their Atheism deny all Religion, can have no Pretence of Religion or Conscience, whereon to challenge the Privilege of a Toleration.

As the Atheist through want of all Religion, so those, whose very Religion *Vacates the Obligations* of Oaths, and destroys mutual Faith among Men, have no Right to a Toleration.

They that teach, that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, to what purpose do you give them Oaths, or take their Promises, who declare by that Maxim, that the Privilege of breaking Faith belongs to themselves? For

they declare at the same time, all that do not belong to their Communion to be Hereticks, or at least, may declare them so, whenever they think fit. What can be the meaning of asserting, that *Kings excommunicate forfeit their Crowns and Kingdoms*? and of challenging the sole Power of Excommunication to their own Hierarchy, at the same time, but to arrogate to themselves the Power of Deposing Kings? Further, can that Church have a Right to be tolerated by the Magistrate, which is constituted upon such a Bottom, that all those who enter into it, do thereby *ipso Facto* deliver themselves up to the Protection and Service of *another Prince*? Should a Magistrate thus give way to a *Foreign Jurisdiction* in his own Country? Would not this be to suffer his own People, as it were, to be lifted for Soldiers against his own Government? So much the more formidable too, as it is a *Foreign Power*, whose Orders to arm and march can be enjoyn'd upon the Penalty of eternal Fire, and the Promise of Paradise. An Atheist that has no Conscience of Gain or Loss for the Future, may be quiet if he will; but if Orders from *Rome* come to disturb the Government of a Prince it has excommunicated, to depose or destroy him is so far from being Treason or Sin, in their account, that it is rather Merit. Nothing can stand before the Force of the two Motives mention'd above. It is no Fault of mine, that these Principles are inconsistent with the Safety of our Constitution. That the Safety and Interest of State does not consist with the *Jesuit*; as the King's Supremacy consists
not

not with the Pope. I am not the Man, Sir, that would have the Papist persecuted, any more than another Man, meerly upon account of his Faith and Worship. But whose Fault is it, that it is next to impossible to be a true Papist and a true Subject to a Protestant Prince? Now the Civil Magistrate considers him only in the latter Capacity. And there he finds, that what with *Equivocations* and *Mental Reservations*; what with the Doctrine of *Intention* sanctifying the Act, and what with *Dispensations* for taking Sacraments, and Oaths, or any Pledges to Government, in order the more effectually to frustrate their Intention, the Magistrate finds, he can never be sure; and that such a Person cannot give Security to the Government, this way, that may be depended upon. While a Protestant has nothing in his Principles that should hinder him from being a good Subject in any Country in the World. As it appears in History that some of them have been under Popish Princes.

That *Dominion is founded in Grace*, is also
 “ an Assertion, by which they who maintain
 “ it, do plainly lay claim to the Possession of
 “ all Things. For they are not so wanting to
 “ themselves as not to believe, or at least not
 “ to profess themselves to be, the truly Pious
 “ and Faithful. These, therefore, and the
 “ like, who attribute unto the Faithful, Reli-
 “ gious, and Orthodox (*i. e.*) in plain Terms,
 “ to Themselves, any peculiar Privilege and
 “ Power, above other Mortals in Civil Go-
 “ vernments; or who, upon Pretence of Re-
 “ ligion, do challenge any manner of Autho-
 “ rity over such as are not associated with
 “ them

“ them in their Ecclesiastical Communion : I
 “ say, these have no right to be Tolerated by
 “ the Magistrate.” These are the Words of
 a known Writer : But who he then had his Eye
 upon, as the Maintainers of this Assertion,
 that *Dominion was founded in Grace*, I cannot
 tell. I know none of that Principle now, un-
 less we must account those to be so, who say,
 you must be of our Communion in order to
 any Place in the Government. For what is
 this but to found all Share in *Dominion* upon
 the *Grace* of taking the Sacrament, and with
 them only ; except their meaning be, that
Communicating is Qualification enough, whe-
 ther they have any *Grace*, or no.

Again, it is certainly dangerous to allow
 full Liberty to those that are *avowed Persecutors*
of others, for Matters of meer Religion. These
 have a right rather to all those *Severities*, which
 they own to be so *Wholesome* ; in order to
 their recovery from a Principle and Spirit more
 mischievous to Church and State than any
 meer speculative Error I know in the World.
 There are People, you know, in the World, that
 count it a sort of Persecution upon themselves
 to be hinder'd from persecuting others. As
Grotius says of the Devil in the Gospel, who
 cried out, *Art thou come to torment us* (*), be-
 cause our Lord was about to put an end to his
 tormenting of others. These, whether they
 be such as in the midst of the Plenty of Esta-
 blishment, under all the Smiles and Favour of

(*) *Mali cum injuriam facere non sinuntur, injuriam se accipere existimant. Grot. in Mat. 8. 29.*

a Government, partial to their outward Interests, Pomp and Splendour ; yet languish for an allowance to Seize and make Prey of others that differ from them : or whether they be such as only want to be Tolerated, till they are strong enough to destroy those that differ from them ; either one or t'other, let them be of what Denomination they will, deserve no Toleration themselves.

To say, as is often said upon this Subject, that all Parties, when uppermost, are for persecuting others ; whether it be true or false is nothing to me ; but if it be true, it is a standing Recommendation of my *Expedient*, and an Argument for this *free and impartial Liberty*, because 'tis owing to the want of this Liberty being made a part of our Law, as it is of our Gospel, that there is any room for those Apprehensions, that put Men upon those unjust ways of preventing the Retaliations they know they deserve, and cannot but fear, if Power, in the Revolution of Affairs, should come into the Hands of those whom they have hardly used. Take away intirely these alternate Apprehensions, and there's an end for ever of this mutual Charge.

These, and such like Opinions, are Civil Crimes, inconsistent with the Peace of the State, and have no Pleas to a Toleration from it. Tho' it must be owned, that a Government may be in a Condition as to be able, safely, by connivance, to let some People have, what they neither have a *Right* to, nor deserve to enjoy. But now, as to all other Opinions and Professions that injure not the State, and are not detrimental to the Peace of the Society,

ety, and the Rights of Mankind, they are within the Reasons of a common Freedom. Where Persons are in other respects *good Subjects*, they have an unanswerable Claim to the Benefits of the State from the Magistrate, who is the Guardian of it, and from every one that pretends to belong to the Church of Christ. Equal and impartial Liberty will be esteemed highly seasonable, as well as equitable, by all Men, who have Souls large enough to prefer the true Interest of the Publick before that of a Party or any selfish Views.

As to the *Magistrate*, you know, Sir, the *Care of Souls* and their Salvation, is not committed to him. This is not the *End* of the Magistrate's Institution, but the publick Peace and Order, and the maintaining every Man in the peaceful Possession of what he has lawfully gotten by his Industry or Skill, or belongs to him as Birthright. The *Force* of the Society is committed to *him* for other Ends, than to punish Men for Conscience ; rather to protect those very Persons, who being good Subjects are of different Apprehensions in Religion, from the Violence of Bigots and Persecutors, who would use them ill for being so ; to prevent, if he can, or punish the Violations of Right, and the Injuries done to any upon the Account of their differing Sentiments in Religion. So far is it from being a Right of any Power or Society, to hinder any one from serving and worshipping God, and securing the Salvation of his Soul, in that way and manner he thinks most proper, that (the former Restrictions remembred) 'tis the Business of the Magistrate rather to punish any that
would

would go about to hinder or molest them, because, it would be contrary to the Nature of Government for Civil Power to punish, where there was no Civil Crime. If a Man's Conscience leads him into a State Crime, his Conscience is no Plea, in Bar of the Magistrate's Animadversion: Who is in such Case to take Care of the Publick Peace and Welfare, without regard to his Conscience; which was never given by God intentionally to dissolve or disturb good Government. But after this Caution, we assert, that no one has a Power over Conscience, to punish any Man for worshipping God or going to Heaven his own Way; provided, he disturb not the Publick Peace, nor injure either the Community or any in it, to the Care of which the Civil Power and Dominion is bounded and confined, and not designed to be extended to the Salvation of Mens Souls; excepting what the Magistrate may do as well as another Man by way of Advice, Perswasion or Argument.

If this Power be in the Magistrate, it must either be given him by *God*, or vested in him by the *People*. Can you show me, Sir, where God has given the Magistrate any such a Power over the Consciences of Men, either in the Law of *Nature*, or Revelation? If from the Law of Nature, then all Magistrates have it, and then Pagan and Popish have the Right of Compelling. And how do you think they will use it? To what Religion will they Compel? "Will not this put the greatest Part of the World under an Obligation of following their Prince in the Ways that lead to

Destruction? And that which heightens the Absurdity, and very ill suits the Notion of a Deity, Men would owe their eternal Happiness or Misery to the Places of their Nativity.

Nor can any Man shew me where God has given this Power to the Magistrate in Revelation, to compel the Consciences of Men, or use Force, that is, to *punish* without any State Crime, and *such* too who are in other respects *good Subjects*, meerly for *difference* in Matters of Religion. It were in effect to give a Magistrate a Power to oppose God Himself, to usurp his Right, to empower the Magistrate to drive God's own Son out of the World when he came into it, to persecute his Apostles, and root out Christianity where-ever the Magistrate is not of it. 'Tis astonishing that it should not be enough to say to a Christian against any Restraints of this Kind, that supposing this Power inherent in the Magistrate, or Majority of every State and Nation, the Christian Religion would never have obtain'd, nor so much as got footing in the World.

Nor can the *People* vest the Magistrate with any such Power, because it is to give to another the Power of chusing a Religion for me; which is throwing up the Care of my Soul. Is he likely to have more Concern for my Soul than I have for my self? or than he has for his own, which we do not always see they take the greatest Care of? Is he less liable to Passions, Prejudices and Mistakes, or to be deceived by those who insinuate themselves to be the Directors of his Conscience? or to be in-

influenc'd by worldly and politic Views? Is it not absurd to imagine, that ever People can give a Power to the Civil Magistrate of destroying themselves, Soul and Body, for Ends and Purposes that don't at all concern the State? Such is the Power of chusing a Religion for the People: and the Power of chusing a Religion cannot be more effectually given, than by giving a Power of punishing those who will not comply with his. In short, as it does not appear that God has given the Magistrate any such Power, so neither can any such Power be vested in the " Magistrate by the consent of
 " the People, because, no Man can so far abandon the Care of his own Salvation, as
 " blindly to leave it to the choice of any
 " other, whether Prince or Subject, to prescribe to him, what Faith, or Worship he
 " shall embrace, for no Man can, if he would,
 " conform his Faith to the Dictates of another, and believe what he will.

" Again, the Care of Souls cannot belong
 " to the Magistrate, because, his Power as
 " Magistrate consists only in *Outward Force*:
 " But now, true and saving Religion consists
 " in the Inward Perswasion of the Mind, without which nothing can be acceptable to
 " God. Such is the Nature of the Understanding that it cannot be compelled to the
 " Belief of any thing by outward Force. If
 " the Magistrate will condescend to argue and
 " Reason, this is common to him with other
 " Men, and what any Man has Authority to
 " do, from Humanity and Christianity; but
 " it is one thing to Perswade, another to
 C 2 Command,

“ Command ; one thing to Press with an Ar-
 “ gument, another with Penalties; *This*, the
 “ Civil Power alone has a Right to do; to
 “ the *Other*, Good-will is Authority enough;
 “ and upon this Ground I affirm (says my
 “ Author) that the Magistrates Power extends
 “ not to the establishing any Articles of Faith
 “ by Force of his Laws. For Laws are of no
 “ Force at all without Penalties; and Penalties in
 “ this Case are absolutely impertinent, because it
 “ can never be known when the Sufferer has de-
 “ served them, and because they are not pro-
 “ per to convince the Mind; and without
 “ such Conviction the Profession is Hypocrisy
 “ and the Worship displeasing to God; and
 “ adds to the Number of our other Sins, those
 “ of Hypocrisy, and Contempt of the Divine
 “ Majesty. But (some will say) let Men at
 “ least *Profess* that they Believe. A sweet Re-
 “ ligion indeed, that obliges Men to dissemble
 “ and tell Lyes, both to God and Man for
 “ the Salvation of their Souls. If the Magi-
 “ strate think to save Men thus, he seems to
 “ understand little of the Way of Salvation.
 “ And if he does it not in order to save them,
 “ why is he so solicitous about the Articles
 “ of Faith as to establish them by a Law?
 Besides, these Methods are so far from being
 adapted to the Pretended End, that they are
 likely to have a quite Contrary Effect, to pre-
 judice Men against such a Religion that al-
 lows, much more if it enjoins, Penalties, in
 order to bring Men to it; or at least to the
 Profession of it, whether they embrace it or
 no; for so far only Force can go, and there
 the Magistrate gives over, at Publick Profes-
 sion,

sion, or Subscription, whether the Man believes a Word of the Matter or no.

Again, being by Force brought to an outward Conformity against their Conscience, does not this tend to lay waste the Conscience? to loosen the Principles of Integrity and Honesty, the best Security to Government and Order in the World? does not this harden the Heart, and show the Way to the like Prevarications in Civil Matters? What should hinder but that Man should come to cheat, lye, couzen, on the *Exchange* or with his Customer, who has been taught to do it already with his God? Why may not a Man take the same Course to add to his Cash, as to save his Pocket? and why not with the Magistrate himself too, as well as with God, and his own Conscience? And so fare-well all Security that a Government can depend upon, for Truth, Faith and Allegiance. And whether this will not tend as directly to the Subversion of Government, as any of those Characters, Opinions, and Practices, I have before shown to be inconsistent with it?

The Byas of Secular Rewards and Punishments in Matters of Religion, which are not adapted to the pretended End, and so can do no good; has a Tendency to manifest Disadvantage. It is apt to pervert Persons in their Enquiry after Truth, as much as Education, Prejudice, Passion or Pride, &c. so that the *Common Place*, made use of, in Defence of Severities, viz. that They are designed to make Men weigh Matters, and consider carefully
and

and impartially; as it can never be applyed, becaule we know not who has and who has not considered; and so may punish the Innocent as well as the Guilty; so neither is their any Impartiality allowed, for People are never thought to have considered Right, till they Conform to the Magistrates Opinion. Besides, some who are of the Magistrates Mind, it may be have consider'd as little as their Neighbours, and yet are not punished. Consideration is to no Purpose if it be not impartial and sincere. Now, Discountenance and Punishment, put into one *Scale*, with Impunity Honours and Preferment in the other, is, to borrow a good Illustration, as sure, and no surer, a Way to make a Man Weigh Impartially, than it would be for a Prince, to Bribe or Threaten a Judge to make him Judge Uprightly.

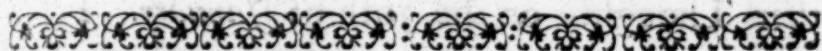
Thus far Sir, I have made my Improvement of what you have plainly proved to belong essentially to the Protestant Religion. I am perswaded that the Protestant Religion well understood, and establish'd in its proper Latitude, would prove an Expedient for Peace among all Protestants. To prevent the Abuse of this Thought, I have also shown who have no Right to this Common Liberty, as well as secured it to all Protestants who are otherwise good Subjects: that they have a Right to it for any thing that can be objected against it on the part of the Civil Power. The next Thing is to carry this Expedient into the *Church*, and to show that there is nothing in that Society that should hinder *This* from taking Place. That True Religion is a Peace-maker every where;

among all PROTESTANTS. 23

where; that the Lusts and Passions of Men have borrowed that venerable Name, to carry on those Designs, which Religion condemns. But I perceive to what a length I am already run out; I shall add no more but that if you think this worthy of publick Notice, you may expect one time or other to hear further from,

S I R,

Your Humble Servant.



ADVERTISEMENT.

Any kind of Letters, Essays, Extracts out of valuable Authors, or Intelligence of any Affairs which may serve the first declared Intention of this Paper, will be thankfully received, if directed to the Author of the Occasional Paper, to be left at North's Coffee-House, King's-street, near Guild-Hall, London, Post paid.

Lately

Lately published

THE *Occasional Paper*. Number I. An Essay on Bigotry. Price 3 d.

Number II. The Character of a Protestant. Price 3d.

Number III. Containing 1. Protestant Principles concerning Civil Government. 2. A brief Answer to the Charge of Sedition, urged by the Papists against the Protestants in *Germany*. 3. An Attempt to state matters truly, with reference to our 30th of *January*. To which is added a Supplement, being some farther Thoughts on the 30th of *January*. Price 4d.

Printed for *R. Burleigh* in Amen-Corner, and
J. Harrison at the *Royal-Exchange*.



THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

NUMBER V.

THE
EXCELLENCE
OF
VIRTUE

Appearing in a
Publick Character.

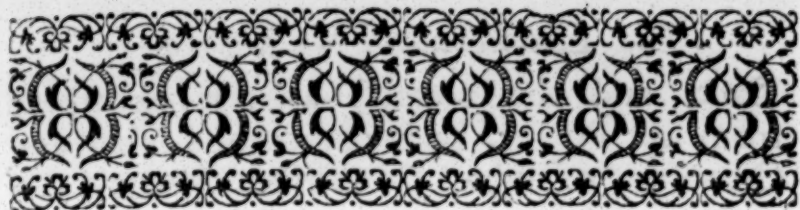
The Elevations of Greatness are Approaches to that unbounded Power to which all Things are subject. Yet, tho' there is somewhat in These which is apt to strike the World with Admiration, there is another Resemblance of the Divinity which has a more peculiar Beauty in it, that consists in Justice, and Goodness. The other may subdue the World, but this only overcomes Mens Hearts, and triumphs over their Thoughts as much as the greatest Monarch can do over their Persons. [Sermon at the Coronation of K. William and Q. Mary.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. BURLEIGH in Amen-Corner, and
J. HARRISON at the Royal-Exchange. 1716.

(Price 4 Pence.)





THE
EXCELLENCE
OF
VIRTUE
Appearing in a
Publick Character.



ALL Things are subject to Law. There is a Rule wisely appointed by their Maker, whereby all Agents, moral and natural, may answer the Ends of their Beings, and attain the highest Perfection of which in their several Kinds their Natures are capable. 'Tis of this Law in general Mr. *Hooker* justly says, “ * That no less can be
“ acknowledged than that her Seat is the Bo-
“ som of God, her Voice the Harmony of the
“ World, all Things in Heaven and Earth do
“ her Homage, the very least as feeling her

* Eccles. Tol. Lib. 1.

4 *The Excellence of VIRTUE*

“ Care, and the greatest as not exempted
 “ from her Power, both Angels and Men, and
 “ Creatures of what Condition soever, tho’
 “ each in a different Sort and Manner, yet all
 “ with uniform Consent, admiring her as the
 “ Mother of their Peace and Joy.

This Law, when applied to the Actions of Men, is that Rule of true Reason, by which they seek after, and attain to, the highest Perfection that is suited to their Nature. By following its Dictates, they raise themselves to the highest Degree of Dignity and Happiness. ’Tis therefore the same Thing with Virtue, according to the Definition *Cicero* has thought fit to give us of it; * *Est enim Virtus nihil aliud quam in se perfecta & ad summum perducta Natura*. So that if we consider Man as a rational moral Agent, he will not act worthy of himself, or secure his own Honour, Ease, and Happiness, while he has no Regard to *Virtue* in his Conversation. He debases and sinks his Nature, and brings the greatest Disorder and Confusion into his own Mind. He who takes not due Care to inform his Understanding, to regulate his Will and his Affections, to bring every Faculty of his Mind into good order, and keep ’em within the respective proper Limits that is assign’d them, will be continually dissatisfy’d with himself, will never be able to approve his own Conduct.

But ’tis not only in this View we are to consider Men, They are social Creatures, as well as rational moral Agents. ’Tis very manifest

* *Cic. De Legib. Lib. 1. Sect. 8.*

they have All, in some degree, a mutual Dependance. As they are entitled to, so they continually stand in need of good Offices and Assistance from one another. Every one has much to fear from the Ill Will and Opposition, and not a little to hope for from the good Opinion and Friendship of others. 'Tis highly reasonable and necessary therefore that Men should set themselves to enquire what is the most proper Method to conciliate universal Esteem and Respect, and to guard against Contempt and Hatred? How to procure the Love and unfeign'd Good Will of their Neighbours which will further them, and how to provide against all the Malice and Envy which will be apt to hinder them in their Pursuits and Designs. The Wisdom and Necessity of this all Men acknowledge, by expressing some Concern to have others satisfy'd with them or dependant upon them. To this Purpose several Schemes have been laid down, and a Variety of Methods try'd; but among them all this of *Virtue* seems to be the only right and sure Way to render our selves generally Acceptable to the World and Easy in it. I know not how it will be possible for a Man who gives up himself to the Sway of his Passions, to the Directions of a giddy and rash Humour, to avoid being as disagreeable as he will be dangerous and prejudicial to those about him.

The intemperate and mean-spirited Man, the Man whose chief Study is to gratify his insatiable Appetites, and to skreen himself from imaginary Dangers, whose own Fears bring a Snare upon him, and bespeak his Disappointment in every Thing he undertakes, must be the Object of universal Contempt. Men

Men who in the common Transactions and Affairs of Life have no Regard to the Obligations under which They bring themselves to Others ; can break thro' the most solemn Engagements of Honour, Promise and Gratitude ; they unhinge all Society at once, and make Mankind in some Respects worse than an Herd of Beasts, a Band of Robbers, or a Clan of Devils. Nor can they ever reasonably expect the Confidence and Affection of those whom they have once injur'd and deceiv'd.

The cruel and the barbarous Man, who is so far from delighting in the Ease and the growing Satisfaction of other Men, that his chief Pleasure is to contribute to their Uneasiness, and find out some Way to grieve them, can't fail of the Hatred of all who feel or fear any of the ill Effects of such a merciless Disposition. These are Qualities in Men that will effectually hinder their being regarded as valuable or useful Members of any Society. No Man of this Character will be able by any Artifices or false Colours, by any Address or Cunning, to recommend himself to the Affection and Friendship, and procure himself the Assistance of his Neighbours. The plain and natural Consequence of which is, he will be very much cramp'd, and in apparent Danger of being unsuccessful in all his Designs and Attempts.

And as the want of these Virtues, Prudence, Justice, Gratitude, Temperance, Fortitude and Goodness, must have an unhappy Influence on the Affairs and Transactions of every Man in the World, so 'tis reasonable to expect that where they appear, they will contribute not a little to a Man's Acceptance and Success.

The

The Man who duly weighs and considers the Nature of those Things in which he is concern'd, and then contrives accordingly ; who calmly and wisely deliberates before he either acts or speaks ; who by a provident Forecast apprizes himself of Good or Evil before it comes, so as to get himself duly prepared for it ; who observes an exact Decency and Propriety in his outward Conduct, according to the Ends he is seeking to compass ; who is neither rude nor boisterous, conceited nor affected in his Carriage and Behaviour : This prudent Man every Body will naturally esteem and consult as an Oracle.

He who is careful to give all Men their Due ; who is undisguis'd and sincere in his Speech, punctual in his Contracts, faithful to his Promises ; unwilling to do any Man the least Injury, in his Body, Reputation, or Estate, to gratify any Humour or serve any Interest of his own ; a Man thus strictly just and honest, will gain the greatest Confidence.

He who is solicitous to express a grateful Sense of any Favour received from others, who regards any friendly Office done him, and every Kindness designed him, as laying him under generous Obligations to take the first Opportunity to requite it, may depend upon the good Wishes, and ready Service not only of those whom he then in his Turn obliges, but of all likewise that see and observe him.

The Man who is moderate in the use of sensitive Enjoyments ; who can restrain his Appetite, and is careful by no kind of Excess to prejudice either his Health or his Reason ; who has neither an immoderate Thirst after Praise,

8 *The Excellence of VIRTUE*

Praise, Fame or Wealth, but has his Desires under due Regulation and Government ; will not fail of the good Opinion, or the good Word even of those who may not be able, or willing, to imitate him.

The Man who can with a well grounded Boldness and Steadiness of Mind enter upon Action, notwithstanding apparent Discouragements in his Way ; who can despise, or at least won't allow himself to despair of surmounting great Difficulties and Dangers that may present themselves and threaten him ; he who has Courage enough to execute the Commands of Reason and Conscience, whatever Opposition he may meet with ; who can despise Poverty, Pain, and Death it self, rather than meanly, scandalously or sinfully either do any thing he is convinc'd he ought not, or forbear any thing he knows he ought to do ; who can under Disappointments and Sufferings maintain an Evenness and Calmness of Mind, without stooping to any unworthy base Methods to remove or prevent them, will attract Admiration, command the Applauses and Reverence of Mankind.

And he who always expresses a Readiness to promote the Welfare and Happiness of others ; a generous Forwardness to relieve the Wants, remove the Oppressions, and better the Condition of Mankind ; to shew Favour and Kindness to those who need and deserve it suitable to their Capacities and Conditions of Life ; and Mercy to those who have offended and injur'd him ; will secure the Love of all with whom he has to do.

Such

appearing in a Publick Character. 9

Such Qualities as these appearing in the Disposition and Conduct, will procure a Man Reputation and Credit, the Affection and Service of Friends, the Love and Duty of Relations; leave him few Enemies, and put it much out of their Power to hurt him; enable him to enjoy himself the Pleasures and Benefit of Society, and communicate them to others whom he esteems, and to whom he wishes well.

And certainly such Endowments as these which have a Tendency to make a private Man appear considerable and useful in his Sphere of Action, must contribute much to the Glory of any one that bears a *Publick Character*. They must raise their Figure and encrease their Serviceableness, who are plac'd in the elevated Stations of Life.

A Prince adorn'd with these Virtues is like to have his Crown sit easy and flourish on his Head, to be belov'd and chearfully obey'd by his Subjects; to be dreaded, or sought to, by all Neighbouring Potentates; in a Word, to have his Administrations extensively Beneficial, and every way Glorious.

Nations and Kingdoms are to be consider'd as larger Families, either with Respect to other Nations, or their own Members. And their Happiness as that of Families will consist in Peace, Unity, and thereupon Prosperity at Home; in the Affection of other People to them, Intercourse with them, Trust and Dependance upon them; and as the Fruit of this, Reputation and Power abroad.

Now the same Regularity of Mind and Action; or the Exercise of these Virtues, Prudence, Justice, Gratitude, Temperance, Fortitude

and Goodness, as they tend to make the Members of a private Family, so they will likewise to render the Subjects of a State, easy and united among themselves, faithful and affectionate to the Publick Administration. And this which is the surest way private Families can take to gain Friendship, Reputation and Interest with their Neighbours, will be most likely to procure to Kingdoms Credit and Interest with the Nations that lie round about them.

It was the strict Virtue of ancient *Rome* that procur'd it its Reputation and Grandeur; that so far enlarg'd it, and so long kept it safe and in Peace: And it was the growing Vices of those who were entrusted with the Government of it in after Times, that shook it with such Convulsions, and at length brought it to so fatal a Period.

The same happy or unhappy Influence will the Virtue or Vice of the governing Part of a Nation ever have on its Domestick Peace and Prosperity, and its Interest and Credit with foreign Courts.

A Prince that is impetuous and rash in his natural Temper, neither capable of forming right Notions of Things himself, nor willing to condescend, or allow Time to take the Advice of Those who are able to inform him; who never troubles himself to deliberate and weigh Things, to lay Schemes or concert Measures; but yields himself up entirely to the wild and giddy Conduct of Fancy and Humour, speaking and acting without Thought; without once thinking of the Propriety, Decency, Fitness or Consequences of what he is going about; what Wonder is it if he draws Ruin upon himself
and

and the whole Community with whose Affairs he is intrusted?

To whose Admiration and Esteem soever, this heady, boysterous, blustering Way of acting may possibly recommend him; however it may make the Knave who is to gain by it, or the Fool who suffers nothing immediately from it, cry him up as Brave, Heroick and Enterprising; every wise Man must necessarily contemn and despise him; and heartily pity the miserable Poor who are subject to him, whose All must be sadly precarious and uncertain, when it lies in so great a measure at the Mercy of a Man absolutely led by Freck and Whim. What a Train of ill success must necessarily attend such Conduct, and in what Miseries and Calamities must an unhappy Country thus govern'd be necessarily involv'd? Won't such an inconsiderate headstrong Prince as this be deservedly left to stand or fall by himself? What Powers will think it worth their while to concern themselves in his Behalf? He'll leave himself few Friends, and make himself numberless Enemies: And is not more sure to fall, than he is to fall unassisted and unpitied. And one wou'd think no additional Defect should be requisite to wean the fondest of his Subjects from a Regard to One, who so plainly shews he has no Regard to the common Interest.

But Instances of an Imprudence less culpable and scandalous than this, in a Governour, have had very Melancholy and Dangerous Effects. By unadvisedly discovering what ought to have been kept secret, by hasty ill-tim'd Expressions, Causes of Uneasiness have been spread abroad; and sometimes by what we call witty

and sharp Speeches (as my Lord *Bacon* observes) Seditions have been raised that have not been easily quell'd. *Cæsar* did himself infinite Hurt by that Speech, *Sylla nescivit Literas, non potuit dictare* : For it utterly cut off that hope Men had entertain'd that he would quit the Dictatorship. And so he gives other Examples. After which he observes, that these short Speeches fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of the secret Intentions : Large Discourses are flat Things, and not so much noted. These and such like Occasions of Disorder a People who live under an Imprudent Prince will have continually to fear.

An *unjust* Prince is like to be still less acceptable or serviceable than an imprudent one. Tho he have all the Cunning, all the King-Craft that is necessary for the management of his Affairs, if yet he shall discover a Disposition to Injustice and Oppression, little Love can be reasonably expected from his own Subjects, or Trust from Neighbouring States. If he shall attempt to gain or pretend to usurp a Power he has no Right to ; if he shall oppress, injure, unjustly deprive any of his Subjects either of their Liberry, Property or Lives ; if he shall break thro the Engagement under which he has brought himself, and contrary to the End of his Institution wrest or detain from them their natural Rights ; as they will have little Reason, they won't ordinarily have more Inclination to honour and obey him. And a Man who has robb'd his own Children, may as reasonably expect that those to whom he is under no such strong and particular Obligations should repose Trust and Confidence in him, as a Prince

Prince that has once been unjust to his Subjects, can expect that the Nations about him should have any Dependance on his Honour and Integrity.

Especially if to such of his Subjects as had endeavour'd by their most faithful Services in a particular Manner, to recommend themselves to his Protection; if to those he should prove Unjust and Unkind; (if the World at present has the same Notion of Ingratitude which it formerly had) such Conduct must certainly shock his Reputation and Interest both at home and abroad.

Nor will an *intemperate* Prince stand fairer for either general Esteem or Usefulness. Every thing languishes under Princes that are enervated with Luxury and Sloth: When Revel and Debauch is preferred to the Council-Table; and the Seraglio gives Laws, or takes them away, according to the Dictates of Wantonness and Pleasure. That the Fatigues of Thought and Business may not interrupt their soft Hours, the Publick Administration is given up to rapacious Ministers; who are seldom known to steer steddily to any other Point than that of their own Interest: who won't fail to take so favourable an Opportunity of making all they can of their own Honours, and their Princes Weakness. How little is wholesome Counsels likely to be regarded, or any Reason of State to prevail, when the Prince has no Power to resist the Charms of a Lady thrown into his Arms on purpose to be Mistress of the Thoughts of his Heart? No better Spies than they who are admitted so near.

Besides

Besides, these are a sort of Leeches that are always crying, *give, give*: What with Pensions and Frolicks, and costly Entertainments, an *Exchequer* won't suffice this Intemperance. It is always low or empty, sometimes shut up, and the Royal Credit is Bankrupt.

The next Thing is to take unpopular and Arbitrary Ways of squeezing Money from the People, or to borrow it of neighbouring Princes, upon Conditions that are not to be spoke of. Then follows the Dread of Parliaments, who are prorogu'd or dissolv'd, or to's'd about like a Tennis-Ball, at the Command of those who have the Command of Them.

Mark Anthony would have made a bright Figure in History, had he never seen *Cleopatra*, or cou'd he have seen her without being lost. But his scandalous Defect in this Virtue made room for the amorous *Cant*, *The World well Lost*, when *All was lost for Love*.

Besides, there is the fatal Influence of a bad Example in such a Prince, that spreads it self among the People; who will be apt to take their Manners as well as their Fashions from the Court. Intemperance and Debauchery *enthron'd*, reign in Triumph, and enjoy a sort of Protection from the Crown; so the *Pagans* quoted the Pranks of the *Heathen Gods*, and in vain might the Philosopher harangue about *Virtue*, when all the while he is represented as arraigning the Deity. So has it been known that a Rebuke of Debauchery has been impeach'd of aiming, by *Innuendo*, at the Prince himself: As in *Nero's* Time it was enough to take away any Man's Life to be eminent for that *Virtue* which was directly opposite to any of his reigning *Vices*.

Hereby

Hereby the Riches of a Nation are exhausted, Labour and Industry will cease, the Minds and Bodies of its Inhabitants will be weaken'd, and it will lie as an easy inviting Prey to every enterprizing Invader. It was the Luxury and Effeminacy of *Darius's* Court that encouraged and enabled *Alexander* to over-run the *Persian* Empire.

The worst Condition of a Man is that wherein he has lost both the Knowledge and Government of himself; and to be govern'd by such a One, is the worst Condition of a Nation. When all is directed not by Reason, but by lawless Lust and Appetite, the Law is forgotten and Judgment is perverted. The Law of God is forgotten, by which they ought to govern themselves; and the Laws of their Kingdom, by which they are to govern their People. That Reason is lost by which they are to distinguish between Right and Wrong, and those Passions stirred up by Wine that incline to Precipitation and Partiality.

And Inconveniencies of the same or like Nature with these, will that Prince bring upon himself and his People, who has an immoderate Thirst after Grandeur and Applause, extended Territories, and fresh Conquests; who shall make no scruple to engage his own Subjects in a bloody and expensive War, over-run a Neighbouring Country, and destroy all before him with Fire and Sword, meerly to spread the Glory of his Arms, and show the Puissance of the Grand Monarch.

No less indecent and dangerous will it be for a Prince to be transported with intemperate Anger: In the Heat of this Fury and
Rage,

Rage, during this temporary Frenzy, the most valuable and faithful Friend shall not be spar'd. Lives shall be sacrificed to a sudden, ill-grounded, disproportion'd Resentment, which will be often and sorely miss'd. Irreparable Injuries of one Kind or another are done, and numberless Irregularities committed, which may be long, and very sincerely, but to little Purpose, regretted.

Nor yet will a *mean little Spirit*, a Mind soon cow'd and broken, be suited to bear the Weight, and answer the Ends of Government. No Prince of a fearful Disposition, was ever capable of performing any great Enterprizes. Want of Resolution to execute them will spoil the best concerted Projects. Without this, there will be a perpetual Inconstancy and change of Purpose*: The Mind will be ever wavering and unsettled. And where there is no Firmness of Mind in the Prince, there must necessarily be a Feebleness in all his Ministers, whatever Bravery and Constancy they might have in their own Spirits; Like weak Nerves in an Human Body. His want of Courage will naturally make them fearful, uncertain, and fluctuating in their Counsels and Management.

Unless a Prince be arm'd with this *Fortitude*, and become Proof against all unreasonable Solicitations and Complaints, he will be continually liable to be insulted by the worst of his Subjects: Who will ever be able, and are very likely to remonstrate and murmur against the

* Pavidis Consilia in Incerto.

most reasonable Conduct, as Scepticks endlessly cavil at the most Self-evident Truths.

Fickle and unsteady Politicks will naturally tend to make a Nation unhappy in it self, and inconsiderable to its Neighbours. Shifting Hands and shifting Schemes, will divide a Kingdom against it self, and so make a People uneasy at Home, and contemptible Abroad. And for Instances of this dangerous and fatal Effect of uncertain varying Counsels and Measures, I need not look so far back, or so far from home, as to the Overthrow of *Nero's* Government : Which *Apollonius* thus accounted for to *Vespasian* : *Nero* (said he) *cou'd touch and tune the Harp well ; but in Government sometimes he us'd to wind the Pins too high, and sometimes to let them down too low* And this will indeed, above all Things, destroy Authority.

Tho' it may not unjustly be imagined that his Cruelty, his inhuman Treatment of his People, was what very much weaken'd *Nero's* Hands, and made the latter Part and Period of his Life and Reign so very unhappy. And certainly nothing will sooner or more effectually alienate the Minds and Affections of a People from their Governours, than a merciless Disposition. When a Prince is of a pcevish, malicious, and unforgiving Temper, and seems to envy his Subjects any Measure of Ease or Happiness which they might enjoy under his Administration, delights in their Uneasiness and Misery, and contrives Ways to teize and wrong them, he has no room left him to be surpriz'd, if they withdraw their Allegiance from him, and endeavour to cast off this Yoke of his, which they find intolerable. Oppres-

sion will make even wise and good Men mad. The Prince therefore who hopes to make himself Great this Way, wanteth Understanding. For how terrible soever such a roaring Lion and raging Bear may make himself to the poor People ; any Measure of their Love, which he would find a much greater Security and Advantage to him, he can never expect.

But what a Figure must that Prince make both in the Age which he lives, and in future Annals, whose Desire and Care is to be great in the Way of *Virtue* ; who affects to appear in nothing so much superior to his Subjects as in the Exercise of those Commendable Qualities of *Prudence, Justice, Gratitude, Temperance, Fortitude* and *Goodness*.

The Prince who wisely and calmly deliberates upon the Nature, Importance and Tendency of the Things he is concerned to manage, calls in from Time to Time all the Assistance that is necessary to inform or direct him, attends to all the true Ends of Government, and then contrives by the properest Means to accomplish what is truly excellent and good ; who proceeds with all that Discretion and Decency in pursuing his Ends, which a private Man would be studious of ; who never acts with Pride and Insult, nor affects to shew himself greater or more powerful than is requisite to give Success to his Affairs ; who takes no rash Steps, uses no kind of Violence where more gentle and cautious Measures may take Effect ; and where Power is necessarily to be used, acts in a regular Way, and exerts the Power only in such Proportions as each Emergency may require ; he shews himself to the
World

World in such a Manner as to make All confess his real Greatness.

He will manage all his own Affairs with a necessary Reserve ; he will give no Advantage by any hasty, warm Significations of his Mind. Instead of all such impolitick and exasperating Hints, perhaps such a Maxim as this may be all that shall be spread abroad, *I'll Reward my Friends, do Justice to my Enemies, and fear none but God.*

Nor will he lose any Advantage that he can secure to himself, or his People, by the Exercise of a provident *Forecast*. By his careful Observation of the Affairs of the World, by his Knowledge of Men and Things, by his good Intelligence he will discover Good and Evil before-hand, so as to give timely Notice to those who stand on lower Ground, and to put them on making proper Provision and Preparation for it. And in this Case, how naturally does Mankind fall into an Admiration of such a Prince? They regard him as the Guardian Angel of the Land. Hereby he spreads an inexpressible Satisfaction thro the Breasts of all his Subjects, to think they have one so watchful for their Safety and Prosperity at the Head of them ; one so able and careful to give them timely and proper Notice of all Things with which it concerns them to be acquainted. By this Means Men do not only reap Publick Benefit, but may likewise make great Advantages to themselves in their private Affairs. And from this Instance of Superiority and Concern, they gradually sink into the lowest and most chearful Subjection. Were this uncommon Penetration and Foresight made use

of to deceive and circumvent those committed to his Care, as it wou'd be unworthy the Name of *Prudence*, so neither wou'd it have any of these desirable Effects. But he does not deserve the Character of being a *prudent*, who is not withal a just Ruler. Now every just Man, in this Publick Character, so far as he is concerned in the Legislature, will either make good Laws or repeal evil ones, without being by-als'd from his Duty to the Publick by any private or sinister Considerations. He'll take care that every Man shall have his Natural Rights under a Legal Security, whatever the Consequences may be. The meanest Subject shall not be oppress'd to oblige a Lord, nor an inconsiderable Few to gratify an unreasonable Majority. No popular Clamour, no Remonstrances from Men of Figure and Consequence shall hinder him from doing a just, or force him to do an unjust Thing.

If for their Attachment to the Publick Interest in a Time of uncommon Danger, a despis'd Handful of honest Men have been promised they should be consider'd when the Publick Welfare would admit, Justice will incline him not to neglect them, tho' he may not at present have any occasion for, nor have any Prospect of hereafter wanting their Service.

Justice will oblige him to fulfil an Agreement made with Enemies. On which Account the present Parliament of *Ireland* cou'd not be provok'd by all past Injuries receiv'd, nor present and future justly dreaded, from their sworn Enemies the Papists, to deny or abridge them of any Privilege granted them by the Articles of *Limerick*: And certainly then, a Promise
made

made to hearty, zealous, and unquestion'd Friends, tho' not in so explicit a Manner, ought to be regarded as of equal Force ; and the fulfilling it should be look'd upon as a piece of common Justice.

Now where there is such an uniform, exact Regard had to Equity in the whole of the Administration, it must necessarily quiet the Minds of Men, and make every Body easy. Men of any Ingenuity or Sense will be ashamed to declare themselves Enemies or Disturbers of such a Government, in which they find no Grievance, from which they neither feel nor have Reason to fear any Injury.

And as *Justice* in a Governour lessens the Number of his Enemies, so *Gratitude* must proportionably add to the Number of his Friends. Even where there has been no express Promise and Agreement, a great and generous Mind will reflect upon designed Kindnesses with Gratitude, and will be uneasy till he has found out some Way of making Acknowledgments for every Expression of a benevolent Mind towards him.

And tho' the servile Flatterers of Princes have persuaded too many of them to reckon themselves above any Obligations, especially those of Gratitude to their Subjects, yet the wise and good of them know and consider that their high Stations cannot discharge them from any of the Bonds of *Virtue*. They'll therefore need no other Monitors besides their own generous Minds to remember and reward a steady Affection to their Interest in Times of Difficulty, or any Hazards which they know inferior People have run for their Sakes. Especially

cially they will not forget (as soon as 'tis in their Power) to ease them of any unreasonable Burdens laid upon them by the Malice of common Enemies, purely for Their sakes. They who take a Pleasure in being general Benefactors, will certainly allow those a Share in their kind Influence, who have distinguished themselves by their Zeal.

Great Men have many Opportunities to shew this noble Disposition in full Light, beyond what occur in private Life. Common People may have the Satisfaction of being conscious to their own grateful Inclinations, when they are unable to make the Returns they wou'd. But Governours have it in their Power to give convincing Demonstrations that they forget not the good Wishes of those below them. Every Day will furnish out an Occasion for one Instance or another of a favourable Mind. Their higher Circumstances enable them to retaliate the Good Will of an Inferior, tho' he could show it but in a small Instance, by Returns becoming their more enlarged Power and Capacity. *Prudence* indeed will direct the Manner and the Time: And *Fortitude* must sometimes be called in to perform this, when the proper Juncture comes; if those who have a just Pretension to be consider'd have many Enemies, who continually endeavour to lessen and oppose them. But never can either Courage or Conduct be employ'd in accomplishing more worthy Designs. For as much as hereby every Body will be encourag'd to be active and faithful in their Service, when once they observe that nothing they can do therein is overlooked or neglected.

And

And not a little will it contribute to a Prince's regular Conduct in the forementioned Instances, and to the Glory and Safety of his Reign, who is able to restrain his Affections, and to set Bounds to his Desires. It will give at once, pleasing and admiring Thoughts of him, to see him command himself that he may the better exercise his Sway over others ; to see him bridle his Lusts and Passions, that he may be ever ready for Council or Action, Deliberation or Execution. This will appear more glorious in a Prince than in a private Man ; as his Temptations are greater, his Opportunities more frequent, as he has the World at Command, and the whole Creation ready to minister to his Excess. For him who has the Power to revenge himself, to pass by Injuries without a disproportion'd Resentment ; for him who is daily carress'd and flatter'd as tho' he were a God, to check every ambitious and towering Thought, is Matter neither of little Difficulty nor Glory. 'Tis glorious indeed for him who has well nigh an unlimited Power to do what he will, to use this in doing only what he ought.

And this a truly Great and Good Prince will never be restrain'd from by any Considerations whatever. To his Prudence in contriving, he will add a Steadiness in executing the Measures he has wisely concerted. In Council he will see all possible Hazards: In Execution he will regard none. And this is his best Security *. A Prince remarkable for

* Audacia pro muto est. Quo minus Timoris, minus ferme periculi. *Sallust. Cat.*

this Uniformity and Firmness of Mind, can't fail of surmounting all Difficulties that may be thrown in his Way, and will cause all Oppositions to fall before him.

To have so much Presence of Mind, so absolute a Mastery of his Fears, as in a Season of the greatest, most pressing Danger, to be able coolly to think, and wisely to advise what to do, as 'tis one of the most inseparable Properties of a truly great Soul, so it does in a manner secure Success to a Prince in all his Affairs †.

But the most amiable and lovely of the *Virtues* is still behind; *Goodness*, which is the nearest Object of Admiration and Delight.

And a Ruler adorn'd with this Disposition, ready to encourage and reward every useful Design; to shew a tender Regard to the unhappy and distress'd; delighting to raise Men of Merit from Obscurity and Neglect; to place in distinguish'd Posts of Honour, and Spheres of greatest Usefulness, those who are capable of filling them up, and being an Ornament to them too; proposing nothing to himself but his People's Happiness, and readily going into any Measures for the Publick Good; While he thus shines in the highest Orb, and sheds benign Influences all about him, he is beheld with Admiration and Pleasure, and must be the Delight of Mankind.

From a Prince of this Make, Penitent Offenders may hope for Mercy. He will judge it his Glory in this to imitate the Divine Being, whose

† Nec talia passus Ulysses. Obliuſque sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto. *Aenead.* L. 3.

Mercy, of all his Perfections, is the most conspicuous. He will reckon his Goodness appears most bright in Acts of Clemency and Forgiveness under Provocations and Affronts, where he sees proper Objects of them, and they are like to answer their End. In which Case, as well as all others, he will ever keep his Eye steddily on the Publick Welfare, and the great Designs of Government, to direct. When the Crime is of a lower Nature, capable of Prudence, and consistent with the Publick Peace, and don't rise to Defiance and Contempt, or appear in open Rebellion, and Attempts to undermine and overturn the Throne; When Men are unhappily mistaken themselves by the Prejudices of Education, or perverted and misled by the artful Management of others, rather than wilful and enraged, and bent upon publick Mischief; When they appear sincerely Penitent, deeply sensible of their Crime, and heartily disposed to return to their Duty; When the Evidence is reasonably convincing, and they are capable of giving Security to the Publick for their future Behaviour; In short, whenever it can stand with the Honour of governing Justice, and is capable of serving the Publick Good; a merciful Prince will moderate the Severity of Justice, qualify the Rigour of the Law, in Hopes of engaging Men to his Service by the strongest Bonds of Love. Nor will he ever punish in any of those Cases, where he is convinced he ought to forgive, for fear of being thought easy, any more than spare where he ought to punish, for fear of being call'd cruel. He will take care that his Mercy, like that of God, shall be always wise

and just, and never interfere with the Exercise of other *Virtues*. He won't allow it to degenerate into a weak Fondness, or undistinguished Piety. He will not shew Mercy to a capital Offender, without the reasonable Hope of gaining him; or when there is a Prospect of a greater Evil by it: When their Temper leads them to known Enmity, and to abuse his Clemency to greater Mischief: When they act a mean and treacherous Part, dissemble their Principles, belye their Actions, and add solemn Hypocrisy to their other Villany.

Nor will he shew Mercy to particular Persons, how great soever, to the Prejudice of the Publick Safety. No Tenderness of Nature, no Intercessions, no Solicitations, shall induce to this; which wou'd indeed be Pity to the Criminal, but Cruelty to the Publick, who have receiv'd the Injury, and would be thereby the more indanger'd and expos'd. 'Tis certainly expedient that *one Man should die for the People*, and the whole Nation perish not. *Brutus's* Severity to his two Sons was no way inconsistent with Goodness: It was a noble Expression of Kindness and Love to his Country, when he appointed them both to be scourged and beheaded in the open *Forum*, before his Face, for conspiring to bring back the banished *Tarquin* *.

But who can describe the Happiness of a People, whose Affairs are in the Hands of a Prince, in whom all those desirable Qualities

* Eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ Ministerium, *Liv. L. 2. Cap.*

meet ? Whose Subjects may always learn from Reason, and the Laws of their Country, what they are to expect in every Case that comes before him. They are sure of having every Matter wisely consider'd and justly determin'd. The great Ends of Government, Peace, Order, and the Protection of the Community, are what both Scepter and Sword will be devoted to promote. Under such an Administration, Men will rise not by low Compliance, and the Friendship of the Great, but by eminent Services and real Worth ; *Capacity* and *Virtue* will be enough to entitle to the Prince's Favour or any Preferment.

That Power and Authority must certainly be regarded as the most valuable Blessing, which the Subjects have such Security and Assurance shall never be employ'd to oppose or insult any, but only to maintain and enforce the Laws.

And these Things which serve to make a Prince appear thus great and desirable at home, must likewise give him an Ascendency over other Powers, and a mighty Influence over the Counsels and Actions of other Courts and Kingdoms.

Less considerable Republicks will seek his Protection, put themselves under his Patronage ; others will solicit and value themselves upon his Friendship and Alliance ; some will admire, others will envy ; some may be stirred up to Emulation, and grow ambitious of imitating him ; And all with one Consent will fear his Displeasure ; won't be very forward to disoblige or injure Him, to whom they can never shew themselves Enemies, but to their unspeakable Detriment.

Thus will he be able to maintain the Balance of Power among his Neighbours, check the haughty and injurious Attempts of every common Disturber, and so preserve the Quiet of that Part of the World in which he lives, as well as some great Advantages to himself and his People.

'Tis not the Art of Civil Polity and Military Power, that will secure the Welfare and Safety of a State, without these *Virtues*: They undoubtedly have their Uses and Serviceableness, and are very consistent with one and all of these *Virtues*: 'Tis a Pity they ever should be, we rejoice they are not always, separated. But if they must, we have the Word of an inspir'd King for it, that *Wisdom is better than all this Strength; Wisdom is better than Weapons of War.*

Much more wild and prejudicial is their Mistake, who are for setting up the Craft of Government, in opposition to *Virtue*, and the Laws of Reason; and are for measuring Justice in a Governour by what they call Reason of State: Who avow his answering every Emergency by any Method of Insincerity and Dissimulation, that seems proper to serve the present Turn; and *Machiavel* has such a Maxim, *That Men are naturally so simple, and so taken with present Appearances, that whosoever has a Mind to deceive them, will ever find them prepar'd to be deceiv'd.* But few have follow'd this Scheme long, who have not found, that tho they have deceived others for a Time, they have deceived themselves in the End. This is a sure Way to loose their Credit, and therewith to weaken if not loose their Power. Nothing usually raises

a sharper Resentment, than to suffer Injustice, and to be tricked at the same Time. There has been One at least in our Age, who was used to boast of his great Skill and long Experience in such Craft, who liv'd long enough to find it had lost him all Affection at home, and all Credit abroad.

The Prince's true and only Way to Safety and Grandeur is this of *Virtue*. Good Fortune and Success in his Affairs, as they are the natural Effect of some, so they are generally the Reward of all those moral Excellencies.

It was upon this that the great and good Emperor *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* built his Confidence of Safety and Prosperity, notwithstanding all hostile and rebellious Attempts against him. When he was reproved for his Clemency to the Family of *Cassius* after his Death, and ask'd thereupon, *Quid si Cassius vicisset?* 'Tis a noble generous Confidence in himself, and a becoming Disdain of such a Thought together, that he seems to express in his Answer, *Non sic Deos coluimus, nec sic viximus ut ille nos vinceret*: He won't allow it to be a supposeable, or so much as a possible Case. And this he gives us to know he founded on the Observation he had made on the Fortunes of his Predecessors; which had been happy or miserable just as they had been virtuous or vicious. *Nero, Caligula* and *Domitian* were the sole Authors of their own Miseries, by their Vices and ill Conduct. *Otho* and *Vitellius* had not the Courage to reign. *Galba* was ruin'd by his Avarice. But much better Fortune did such of them as were good meet with: *Augustus, Trajan, Adrian* and others of this Character always reign'd in the
Hearts

30 *The Excellence of VIRTUE, &c.*

Hearts of their Subjects, and continually triumph'd over their domestick, and foreign, Enemies.



The Author of this Paper shewing it to a particular Friend, just as it was going to the Press ; he was pleased to add the following Lines of Poetry.

HEav'n, weary'd with the Deeds of common Kings,
Resolv'd to form a Prince for nobler Things.
Bohemia's Piety, and *Britain's* Blood,
Must joyn to make him truly Great, and Good.
His Aspect must be Thoughtful, Firm, yet Kind ;
Healthful his Body, Virtuous his Mind.'

Pru-

Prudent, and Just, and Temperate, and Bold,
The Reins of Government He *first* shall hold
In an inferior Station, *then* shall rise
To Grace a Kingly Throne, and all the World
surprize.

Virtues derived from a Lower State,
The use of Sov'rain Power shall regulate ;
And make the mighty Monarch still more
Great.

His Empire, when in Childhood it appears,
Heav'n shall o'ersee, and guard its tender Years ;
Till, Virtue and Authority combin'd,
Envy, and Hope, shall both be left behind,
And Victory, or Blessings, reach to all Man-
kind.

Th' ALMIGHTY thus selects a GEORGE to reign,
And do's his Virtue, and his Pow'r sustain :
Bid *Him* go on ; and bids *Us* wait to see
His growing Glory, Our Felicity.



E R R A T A.

PAge 5. Line 13. for ? put : l. 23. del. and. p. 16. l.
23. r. Like a shaking Head, and weak Nerves, &c.
p. 18. l. 10. r. in which. p. 23. l. 4. for *who*, r. when he.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Any kind of Letters, Essays, Extracts out of valuable Authors, or Intelligence of any Affairs which may serve the first declared Intention of this Paper, will be thankfully received, if directed to the Author of the Occasional Paper, to be left at North's Coffee-House, King's-street, near Guild-Hall, London, Post paid.

Lately Published,

THE *Occasional Paper*. Number I. An Essay on Bigotry. Price 3 d.

Number II. The Character of a Protestant. Price 3 d.

Number III. Containing, 1. Protestant Principles concerning Civil Government. 2. A brief Answer to the Charge of Sedition, urged by the Papists against the Protestants in *Germany*. 3. An Attempt to state Matters truly, with reference to our 30th of *January*. To which is added a Supplement, being some farther Thoughts on the 30th of *January*. Price 4 d.

Number IV. An Expedient for Peace among all Protestants. In a Letter to the Author of the *Occasional Paper*. Price 3 d.

Printed for R. Burleigh in Amen-Corner, and J. Harrison at the Royal-Exchange.

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

NUMBER VI.

THE
DANGER
OF THE
CHURCH
CONSIDER'D.

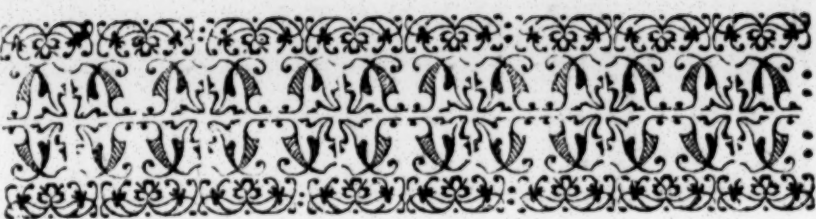
----- *In Perils among False Brethren,*
2 Cor. xi. 26.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. BURLEIGH in *Amen-Corner*, and
J. HARRISON at the *Royal-Exchange*. 1716.

(Price Three Pence.)





THE
DANGER
OF THE
CHURCH
CONSIDER'D.



THE CHURCH is so dear a Name, that the Cry of its Danger must needs affect every honest Man : If there be real Danger, it will excite our Zeal for its Security: If it be a groundless Clamour, set on Foot to serve ill Purposes, our Indignation will be rais'd in Proportion to our Value for that sacred Thing, which is so unworthily prostituted. And surely it will be a very useful Attempt to enquire particularly into the Matter, in order to satisfy the Well-meaning, and expose the Ill-designing.

By the CHURCH (it's taken for granted) the Authors of this Cry would have us understand the Church of *England* as establish'd by Law. Now the Danger of this Church must be either from Infidels, Papists, or Presbyterians. /4:

As to *Infidels*, they are either Foreign or Domestic: There can be no Danger from any foreign

foreign Infidels but the *Turks*; and we suppose that Danger is at least several Campaigns off. Besides, it is to be hop'd that the most Christian King will prove so much our Friend, as to keep those Infidels on the other side the *Alps*.

Our Domestick Infidels may be more dangerous; but it is to be consider'd, that many of them may be *for* the Church, the Profits, Rights and Power of it; tho' they should not be of the Church in the strictest Sense, as to the Matters of Faith and Practice. *Italy* and *France*, as well as other Countries, confirm this Observation by Experience; That such Men will lose nothing that they can get by any Church, seeing all Churches are alike to them. And their great Master *Hobbs* has confirmed that Privilege to them by this Grant, *Quod autem attinet ad Conscientiam Hominum, quæ Interna & Invisibilis est, Potestatem habent omnes eandem quam habuit Naaman, neque ad pericula se offerre opus habent, † i. e.* 'As to the
' Business of Conscience, which is Inward and
' Invisible, every Man has the same Privileges
' as *Naaman*, and is not obliged to run him-
' self into Danger.' Thus this Party may be divided; some of them engaged to support the Establish'd Church; and none of 'em can oppose it, out of a scrupulous Conscience. And so the Church would be safe, tho' true Religion were in a manner lost by the Prevalency of Infidelity. This may seem Banter; but in good Earnest, as far as appears from the Temper and Behaviour of those who promote the

† *Leviath. Cap. 43.*

Cry of the Church's Danger, one might without Breach of Charity conclude, they do not mean by it Christianity, neither Doctrine nor Temper, since both these have been trampled under Foot, defy'd and violated in the most scandalous Manner, under Pretence of a Zeal for the Church's Safety.

And it may not be improper to remark, That the Church seems in Danger but from one sort of Infidels, *i. e.* *Whigs*. Which plainly shews the Outcry against Infidelity proceeds only from Party-Heat, not a sincere Concern for Christianity. Perhaps some may be so weak as to think all the Infidels are of that sort ; but I am sure the Raisers of this Clamour know better. Oh how safe was the Church, when her Affairs were directed by such Believers as *H.....y*, *St. J.....n*, *A.....y* and *Sw.....t* !

The next Danger of the Church is as *Protestant* from foreign *Papists*, or Persons *popishly* affected at Home. 'Tis certain this is our greatest Danger, as these are perpetual, crafty, active and powerful Enemies. However, for the Comfort of my honest Reader, we have no Reason to be very apprehensive of Danger from foreign *Papists* without Assistance from our selves : And of that I think there is now less Danger than ever. I shall not insist upon a thing so plain, as that they can have no Assistance from a Protestant Clergy. They must suppose Them the worst and vilest of Men, before they themselves can have the Confidence to expect it ; and every good Churchman sees the Absurdity of such a Fear as that.

'Tis farther to be observ'd, that there can be now no Danger from a Court *popishly* affected.

fectcd. Our King is a Protestant by Education and Profession; and what is more, has given us Reason to believe He is so, in Principle; and His own Interest, even His Title to the Crown, is inseparable from the Protestant Cause. So that we may be sure He will never lend Power and Authority to such as are for making nearer Approaches to *Popery*, or perfecting the Project of an Union with the *Gallian* Church.

However, 'tis plain, that *Popery* is not the Quarter from whence They apprehend the Church's Danger, who raise all this Dust about it. For Papists and Persons popishly affected, are first and loudest in the Cry: And the *Shibboleth* of the Party was, *Better Popery than Presbytery*; for which the *Free-Holder* very humourously gives this Reason, that *Presbytery is Obstinacy, whereas Popery is only Idolatry*.

Besides, this Cry was made use of to defeat the Church's greatest Securities; our best Alliances, Treaties and Guarrantees; to prevent the humbling its greatest Adversaries; and to promote those Persons, and advance those Schemes which have weaken'd and expos'd it every where: even when it was remonstrated they *would* do so, and were always known to have done so.

I cannot think they mean the Church of *England* as by Law Etablised: Not only because the Persons to be run down by this Cry are of that Establishment, and some of them its brightest Ornaments; but because their very Adherence to the pure Doctrines, godly Discipline, and plain Worship which are so established, is generally one Cause of the Cry
against

against 'em, and part of the Character of those who are marked out for indangering the Church. Infomuch that we have known some People, who constantly go to Church and use all its Forms, represented as its Enemies: And those counted the truest Churchmen, * who have not enter'd a Church Door in seven Years; and had the Impudence, even in *St. Stephen's Chapel*, to thank God at the mention of it.

Besides, this Cry is loudly made use of by those, who avow and own the Cause and Person of a *Pretender*, that would subvert those Laws by which the Church of *England* is established; and to insult the better Part of the Bishops upon the Bench, who are the Fathers of our Church; Yea, to protect an insolent *Priest* at the Bar for arraigning that very Constitution which supports the Church of *England* established by Law; and for propagating Principles, which, if received, must inevitably destroy it.

It is observed of this Church (whatever Church it is they mean) that its Danger increased always in Proportion to the Victories of the *Confederate* Armies over the *French*; and always kept pace with the growing Glories of the *British* Arms; till at last this Church was brought to its last Gasp by the Victories of *Blenheim* and *Ramellies*. And after the taking of 42 Towns, and gaining about 10 pitch'd Battles, the Danger was so great, that it was no longer to be endur'd. And to be fully revenged of our Enemies for the threatening Danger their suffering themselves to be beat had

* *Sir E. S-----*.

brought the Church into ; the *General* who contributed to it was disgrac'd ; and the D. of O..... sent over to be a Spy for those whom the D. of M..... had conquer'd ; and by betraying the Allies to give the *French* an Opportunity of Massacring so many of them at *Denain* : The Parliament that had raised Money for these endangering Wars was dissolved ; and Another chosen, consisting, for the most Part, of the Members of This Church that had been in Danger ; who to put it out of Danger, gave back to *France* all that the former Victories had won from her ; and *Spain* and the *West-Indies* into the Bargain : Voted a Noble Peer an Enemy to his Country for making a Barrier-Treaty to secure our Protestant Allies, and the Protestant Succession, the great Security of the Church of *England* : And seemed to lay a Plan for entering into a War with some of our Protestant Neighbours.

There were some other Methods these Gentlemen took to set the Church out of Danger, which will not allow us to understand it of the Church of *England* as established by Law : Such as sending our Seamen into the Service of *France*, and selling our Ships to the King of *Spain* † ; disbanding our Land Forces without

* *Daily-Courant*, April 3. 1713. The Lord *Lexington*, our Ambassador in *Spain*, offer'd the *Spanish* Court on the Part of Her Majesty, what Number of Men of War that Court had a mind to, and such as they should chuse at moderate Rates.

Besides the *Paris Gazette*, in the Article from *London*, March 13. 1712-3. has these Words. ' They continue ' to lay up the Ships, and as they have discharged a great ' many Seamen, they have given them Leave to go into ' the *French* Service.

a Penny of Money, or with so little as could not bring them Home ; upon which they might chuse whether to enter into the Service of our new Friends, or starve for the Safety of the Church : And all this, when our new Friends were come out of a War as well as we, and needed no Recruits. A Land War was it seems consuming, tho' successful ; and so much the more dangerous to this Church as it was successful : But why our Seamen should not stay at Home to defend the Church, and our Ships be kept to defend the Island, I cannot imagine, unless the Kingdom were to be left naked for the Security of the Church ; and *Bona Fide* were a greater Safety to it than all Armaments, Barriers, or Protestant Allies could possibly be.

We are obliged to our New Friends, that they did not strike a Bargain for two Thirds of our Navy, upon Condition of paying for them when the remaining Third could make them do it.

This was a Degree beyond what Sir *Anthony Dean* did, by King *Charles* the Second's Order. He only sent a Model of one Man of War of 150 Tuns to *Roan* ; from thence the *French King* convey'd it to *Versailles*, and launched it upon his great *Canal* : sending also vast Quantities of Ammunition of all sorts. The Aggrandizing the *French*, which has been the Aim of some of our Princes to a degree that has enabled them to destroy the Protestant Religion in their own Country, and bid fair for it in *Europe*, would have been very impolitick, if it had not been for the greater Safety of the Church.

To the same Account must be placed the
B arbitrary

arbitrary Violation of our solemn Leagues and Alliances against *France*. This lost the Nation's Credit Abroad ; we appeared a People neither to be trusted nor even pitied any more.

It was not regarded, that the *Queen* in her great Wisdom had told us, *That no Peace could be safe or lasting while Spain and the West-Indies remain'd in the House of Bourbon* : and at another Time, *That the French seem'd to aim at dividing the Allies among themselves, in order to attack some of them singly with greater Advantage* : by which a great Minister was convinc'd that a Separate Peace was *Knaveish, Foolish, and Villainous*. The Danger of this Church was a Cry too hard for all this good Reasoning, and prevail'd against it.

How could it be for the Safety of the Church of *England*, as Established by Law, to permit a subtle Abbot, and an Outlaw'd Envoy from the Pretender, to converse so frequently with the Head of the Church ? To promote the Restoration of the Electors of *C-----n* and *B-----a* ? To turn out all the Friends of the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and put Persons into all Places that were either known, or suspected, Enemies to it. To treat the Revolution as a Rebellion, and King *William*, who saved the Church of *England*, as an Usurper ; to allow Men to scatter Medals and Pictures of the Pretender, and to make Publick Rejoicings on his Birth-Day : But if a few Protestant Boys would burn the Pope and Pretender on the usual Days, they were taken up and prosecuted as Rioters.

In the mean time, the Prosecution of a Fellow for Writing against the House of *Hanover*

was

was dropp'd, and a Pardon pass'd the Seals for him. The Punishment of *Bedford*, who appeared to be the Publisher of the Pretender's Title to the Crown, in a Book call'd *Hereditary Right*, was in part remitted; and very significant Intimation given, that Treason against the House of *Hanover* was acceptable to the People then in Power.

It may not be amiss to observe, That in our Demands given in at the Congress at *Utrecht*, there was no Article in Favour of the poor Protestants in *France* offer'd by our *English* Ministers. Had it been the Ch..... of *E.....d*, whose Safety they were so much concern'd for, they could not have forgot their miserable Brethren of the same Faith who suffer abroad; much less have treated such of them as fled over hither with a Severity next to a Persecution. The *Examiner* treated those poor Refugees as so many Rebels and Villains: And they who managed the Treasury, took the Way to add to the glorious Army of Martyrs, while notwithstanding 15000 *l. per Annum* was appropriated to the poor *French* Protestants, the miserable Creatures walk'd about like Ghosts and Shadows; and all the Cries, and Tears, and pale Looks of many starving Families could not obtain Compassion.

It was, it seems, for the Service of this Church, that the Dissenters were disturb'd in their Religious Assemblies; their Places of Worship pull'd down, their Persons insulted, and some of their Dwelling-Houses plunder'd; while the Papists went openly to Mass: And, as Mr. *Peploe* in his Sermon at the Trial of the Rebels at *Liverpool*, tells us, *The Priests of that Party (Popish) have been more than double the Number*

of the Legal Clergy in many Parts of this * County. The Papists have gone as openly to Mass, as we have done to our Churches : And what has the Fruit of this Connivance been, but their insulting the Government and all true Friends to it, and they are now for violently wresting the Power out of its Hands? So much some People have the establish'd Church at Heart !

When I remember these Things, and the Pro-roguing the Parliament of *Ireland* for 6 or 7 Months, to prevent their going thro' with a Bill to Attaint the Pretender ; the Laws that pass'd in Favour of the Nonjuring Clergy in *Scotland* ; the ridiculous Accounts publish'd in the *Gazette*, of the inconsiderable Numbers of Papists in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* ; when both swarm'd with Priests and Jesuits, and it was well known, that the Seminaries from Abroad had poured out all their Fry upon us ; and that they did not only animate and stir up, but have in some Places composed the most considerable Part of the late Mobs which began the Rebellion.

When I remember the Opposition that was made against the Allies being Guarantees for the Protestant Succession ; that it was called a *Scandalous Proposal*, and a Thing that would hinder us † from *changing the Succession*, if we should see Occasion for it : And that in the *new Treaty* propos'd by the Queen's Ministers to the States, the States were not to be bound, as by several Clauses in the *first*, to secure the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, immediately after the Demise of Her Majesty without

* Lancashire. † Conduct of the Allies.

Issue of her Body, as it is limited by our Acts of Parliament: but only after the Death of all the intermediate Heirs between the Queen and the House of *Hanover*.

When I remember, that Men were daily list-
ed for the Pretender, and no Notice taken of
the Complaints made of it; but much the same
Care taken of those who were inform'd against,
and taken up upon it, as was by the Duke of
York, of such as were taken up for Firing the
City of *London*.

When I lay these Things together, I cannot
think it is the Ch..... of *E.....d* as by Law
established which the Cry means to be in Dan-
ger; since they who were loudest in this Cry,
had thus brought her to the Brink of Ruin; and
made use of that Clamour as a Means of do-
ing it.

It must certainly be some other Church and
Interest, which I cannot better represent than
in the Words of the late Bishop of *Sarum*, in
his Speech to the House of Lords 1704.

" I knew one of the most eminent Papists of
" the Age, who used often to say, *He was for*
" *the Church of E.....d as by Law established.* I
" took the Liberty to ask him, How such a
" Profession did agree with his Sincerity? He
" answered, He look'd upon the Laws of *Q.*
" *Mary* as yet in full Force: for he thought *Q.*
" *Elizabeth*, who repealed them, had no more
" Right to the Crown than *Oliver Cromwell*; so
" that her Laws were no Laws. I confess since
" that Time, I have been jealous when I heard
" some Persons pretend to much Zeal for the
" Church of *England* as by Law established.

3
 // p. 6
 I am sensible after all, that the great Danger we are directed to apprehend, is, from the *Presbyterians* ; for I find People are no other way afraid of Popery, than as Presbytery is to make Way for it. Now what we have to apprehend from this Quarter, is either an Alteration in the Supremacy of the Crown, or in the Authority and Jurisdiction of our Bishops. But we may hope there is now very little Reason to be fearful of either. The Dissenters pretend to desire nothing but a Liberty to act according to their own Sentiments. However that be, 'tis certain, they are not, of themselves, formidable to our Laws and Establishment: And they may be easily convinc'd, that they have very few among us, who are Friends to them as Dissenters.

There is more Occasion of Fear from our own *Convocation-Presbyterians*, as They are a Party in our own Body, and have been able at some Times to make a Figure in the Representative Body of the Church. But it is now to be hoped, that as the Ends for which they struggled go farther out of View, their Zeal for 'em will cool in Proportion. Besides, as they are like to remain in the Lower Stations of the Church, they will not probably be again so formidable as they have been. And it is to be hop'd, That Cause will be effectually silenced, when the same Hands are intrusted with the Power and Government of the Church, which have already triumph'd in Reason and Argument.

//
 But to return to the Dissenters ; That which many well-meaning People are afraid of, is, that the Government may be drawn in to go
 such

such a Length in their Favour, as to restore them to the Common Privileges of their Countrymen. I really think there is no great Prospect of such a Thing. But suppose it, I believe the Church would be every way as Safe as it is at present, or, perhaps in some respects, have better Securities. Possibly a Zeal for the common Rights and Liberties of Mankind, and particularly for a Number of my peaceable Fellow-Subjects, who have with one Consent behaved so well in the late Conjunction, may be the Occasion why I cannot discern the Continuance of their Civil Incapacities to be necessary to the Church's Safety. If I am in a Mistake, I shall be willing to own it upon Conviction. But I cannot see yet, that, if the Wisdom of the Nation should ever think proper to take that Matter into their Consideration, any true Son of the Church would have reason to be in Pain. 1

As a *Christian* Church, it appears to me, This would mend its Constitution, by discharging it of a Practice frequently lamented by many of the Best Men of our Communion; that the most Sacred Rite of our Religion should be made a Qualification for Bread; and a sober Clergyman be put to the Difficulty, either of refusing a Libertine, excluded by the Laws of God and the Church, (who would not be at the Trouble to offer himself without the Perquisite of a Place) or of standing the Mark of his Repentment for putting him by his Office. By this means the Church would have its Holy Table fill'd as in the Primitive Times, with only voluntary and devout Communicants. 2

As a *Protestant* Church, it must receive a considerable Addition of Strength, by the Assistance of many honest, wealthy, and active Hands, who must be confess'd to have an equal Zeal with Us against Popery, and to have All to a Man particularly shewn it in an Opposition to the late *Popish* Rebellion, as far as the Restraints They are under would permit them. The Great Defender of our Church, under God, His Sacred Majesty, would have their Force at Command, united with all hearty Protestants in his Dominions, to oppose any future Efforts of a *Popish Pretender* or any of his Abettors.

Aye! but what will become of our *Church establish'd*, our Hierarchy and Liturgy, Ceremonies and Church-Revenues, if the whole Herd of Dissenters should be capable of Places, as well as a true Son of the Church? I answer, The Church would be in the same safe and flourishing State, as it was before the Government thought fit to incapacitate them. This is but a Modern Expedient for the Security of the Church, with which our Fathers were unacquainted. The *Test-Act* affected Protestant Dissenters only 'by a Side-Wind, and not in the original Design of it. And later Hardships were brought upon them, when none of the best Designs were to be served by it.

However, without entring into the Views upon which they were marked out by the Laws which make them uneasy; the Question is, Whether the Church is like to be a Sufferer, if They should be reliev'd? And it appears demonstrable, That no Power could accrue to them by this Means, from which a reasonable Man can apprehend Danger to the Establishment. The
Removal

Removal of their present Incapacities would make no Alteration of their Strength in the Legislature, And without Doors they could have a Prospect only of some lower Posts. And considering the great Disproportion of their Numbers to the Church in all Parts of the Nation, they would very rarely carry it in any Popular Election. All the Power they could obtain by being restored to their Capacity, would only enable them to serve their King and Country, in conjunction with true Churchmen, in maintaining the Publick Peace, or opposing a Publick Enemy. Tho' they would be of some Consideration, as an Additional Force to the Strength of Church Protestants, in Defence of those Religious and Civil Interests wherein we all agree; Yet if they should be so infatuated as to use their little Influence upon a Separate Bottom, to the Disturbance of our Ecclesiastical Settlement, they would shew themselves to be Weakness it self. The Authority of the Episcopal Order within or without the Parliament-Doors, the powerful Influence of the Clergy, and the General Bent of the Nation, would be an invincible Bar to their making any Inroad on the Church in favour of their Particularities, if it should be in their Inclination.

But I would hope even That would remain no longer, were they but made easie in these Things. Upon the Revolution, when the Fathers of the Church began to express more Temper and Moderation towards them than their Predecessors had done, the Dissenters generally appeared not a little softened in their Opinion of the Order. And in this City, be-
C fore

43
fore the late Bills against them, they were known to be as Generous in their voluntary Contributions to our Lecturers and Charity-Schools, as any of their Neighbours. If they were restor'd to the Privileges of *Englishmen*, they could have nothing in Reason to wish for more. This is all they pretend to. As far as I can learn, they are generally come off the Notion of a National Church in their Way ; even those who are called *Presbyterians*. But if after all they should be unquiet, and set on Foot new Disturbances, High and Low-Church would soon agree to crush them : The Tenderneſs of Moderate People for them, who now may think they have some Reason to complain, would be entirely extinguished.

Such a good-humour'd Step might perhaps weaken that Cement which now appears among their ſeveral Parties. 'Tis evident, they are become better Friends of late Days, ſince they have apprehended the Church was making an Attack upon them all in common. This has induced them to forget their leſſer Differences, upon the common Principle of Self-preservation, while they looked upon the Church as their common Enemy. But this ſtrict Alliance would be like to Slacken, if they found the Church Kind, and that they had as little to fear from It as from any Body elſe.

And in the Iſſue, ſuch a Courſe muſt certainly bring over many of them intirely into the Church. Some of the better Sort among them are ſo ſhock'd at a Sacramental Teſt for Civil Offices, that they have not Patience to hear any Arguments for a Church which pretends to be ſupported by it. Others were ſtrangely alienated

alienated by the *Occasional Bill*, who seem'd coming towards us apace before ; but turn'd short, when the Church seem'd to shut the Door. Above all, the *Schism Bill* appears to most of them so contrary to the allowed Rights of Parents by the Laws of Nature, and Nations, and Revelation, that ever since they have generally been sow'ed. Would the Church but condescend to make them easy in these Particulars, they would not be kept off, by the Apprehension of ill Treatment, from listening to the many Arguments for Conformity ; and there would be Motives enough still remaining to draw them into the Church, could they have their Scruples remov'd.

Having sufficiently shewn the Church to be really in no Danger, that is, in no more than it will always be, till the Time of the New Heaven and new Earth ; 'tis very fit that I give an Account whence all this Clamour takes its Rise.

The Business in short is this. There have been Measures concerted for entring into Communion with the *Gallican Church*. The Clergy (*i. e.* the corrupt Party of them) aim at a Power independent upon the State, and in some Respects superior to it. To compass which Designs, a Popish Pretender was to be set upon the Throne. Great Advantages were taken from the *Deism* and Irreligion of some of the Opposers of these Designs. And the Ignorance of the Common People was practis'd upon, and their Superstition rais'd to the utmost.

The Measures concerted for entring into Communion with the *Gallican Church*, were

not sufficiently regarded by Men in Power, nor their Tendency observ'd. Had the Steps taken, under the Direction and Influence of the Papists, upon this Head, been at first guarded against ; I am perswaded, the Divisions which have since happened, had not risen to such a height, and perhaps had been wholly prevented. A Book * was published, which frankly declared, That all the Differences between the Popish *French* Church and the Church of *England*, are so far reconcileable as not to hinder Communion : Since the main Difference betwixt the Church of *England* and that of *Rome*, is, by that Author, said to be the Pope's Supremacy ; which he boasts the *Gallican* Church has thrown off, as well as the *English* : And therefore that they may easily be brought to an Agreement. Accordingly in that Book a Treaty is propos'd between our Convocation and the General Assembly of the *Gallican* Bishops. And, in the *Second* Edition it is complained, That the *English* Convocation not being suffered to sit while that of *France* lasted, a Treaty was render'd impracticable. However, the Notions advanc'd in this Book became highly acceptable in our Universities ; were greedily swallow'd by many of our ambitious and unwary Clergy ; and had such an Effect upon many of our Nobles and Gentlemen, that the very Methods this Author proposes for compassing his Ends were fallen into: One of which was †, That a Bill should pass to render all the Dissenters in *England* incapable of serving the Government : And he makes it necessary to

* *Lesley's Case of the Regale and Pontificat* † P. 179.
carry

carry every Thing as far as possible in Opposition to them. I confess, to me it would effectually disgrace such kind of Bills, whatever other Ends might be gained by them, to think they were brought in at such Instigations.

But thus every Obstacle being removed by Degrees, which would hinder a Coalescence between the *English* and *French* Churches; these Men plainly intended to carry the Church as far toward Popery as was consistent with their refusing Subjection to the Pope: Very gravely and wisely imagining, that then they might set up for Popes themselves.

This is the Church that was sometimes in such threatening Danger under Her late Majesty's Administration: and which has been brought even to it's Dying Agonies since His present Majesty's Accession. This is the Church which our Ambitious Clergy so much cry'd up; thinking thereby to procure to themselves a *Power independent* on the State. For the Book I have been referring to, was written most directly against Her Majesty's Supremacy. And 'tis well known what Designs some Churchmen had formed to greaten themselves, tho' it were to the lessening and sinking even of the Royal Dignity. And all these concerted Measures were communicated to the Common People in the short and acceptable Way of a *Health to the Church and the Queen*; being very carefully instructed to put the Church before the Queen. Hence Men, in their Cups, were every where taught to stammer out the Church; and in their greatest Furies to Curse, and Swear, and Bully for the Church. While many of the ignorant inferior Clergy, glad of their newly acquired

quired Fame and Honours, were ready to encourage every Thing which might serve so good a Cause.

But now in order to the Accomplishment of these Projects, King *GEORGE* and the Protestant Succession must be set aside ; and the Nation, by insensible Degrees, was to be drawn into the Interest of a Popish Pretender. Hereupon the Cry for the Church became louder than ever ; putting it now past all Dispute, that they meant a Church, which would flourish much more under a Popish than a Protestant Prince. The Papists therefore became Advocates for it ; take up Arms ; make War upon the whole Constitution ; devote their Estates ; and at last shed their Blood, for the Service of this Church. All those who are known to be disaffected to the Present Happy Establishment, are willing to skreen themselves from the Charge or the Punishment of Rebellion, by a pretended Zeal and Concern for the Church : The most vicious and profligate Set of People among us, run with full Mouth into the same Cry : So that at last we see this Church is something, in which Papists, Rebellious Protestants, and Men utterly void of all Religion, can unite.

Yet it must be confess'd on the other Hand, that the *Deism* and Immoralities of some who heartily opposed the fore mention'd Designs, gave vast Advantage to the Managers of this Cry. The Council for Dr. *Sach*..... had made but a very short and poor Defence, had they not been able to turn to something of this Nature. Which, tho' it was altogether Foreign to the Articles of Impeachment, against which they

they should have directly pleaded ; yet they knew how much such Things might affect some there present : They knew, I say, upon whose Weakness that Impertinence might strike to their Advantage. 'Tis nothing in such a Case as this to alledge, That the Accusers are as Criminal as those they Accuse : because they have something to substitute instead of Real Religion, which the others want, and which will be sure to take with the Common People ; and that is *Superstition*. A true Patriot must certainly be a Wise Man ; and as such despise and declare against *Superstition* : But if *Deism* and Irreligion can be charg'd upon him, he must expect the Outcry of the Common People. 'Tis a noble Passage of the *Roman* Orator, concerning the Original of the *Roman* Greatness, and which I wish was writ upon the Heart of every Nobleman and Senator in *England* *, “ Let us be as partial, Fathers of the Senate, to our selves as we will ; we are not superior in Number to the *Spaniards*, nor in Strength to the *Gauls*, nor in Policy to the *Carthaginians*, nor in Learning to the *Greeks*, nor in native good Sense to the *Italians* and *Latins* : But we have prevailed over all other Nations by a Superiority in Piety and Religion ; and in this single Point of Wisdom, That we con-

* Quam volumus licet, Patres conscripti, ipsi nos amemus : tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus Gentis ac terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos ; sed pietate ac religione, atque hâc unâ sapientiâ, quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. *Cic. Orat. de Harusp. Respons.*

“ sider’d all Things as under the Direction and
 “ Government of Divine Providence.

But to conclude, Matters being as above-stat-
 ed, the Ignorance of the Common People has
 been basely practis’d upon by Those whose Duty
 it was to have made them wiser; and their *Super-*
stition has been rais’d to the utmost. It is an
 Observation of my Lord *Verulam*, “ That Super-
 “ stition has been the Confusion of many States,
 “ and brings in a new *Primum Mobile* that ra-
 “ visheth all the Spheres of Government. The
 “ Master of Superstition is the People, and in
 “ all Superstition Wise Men follow Fools, and
 “ Arguments are fitted to Practice in a revers’d
 “ Order.

Thus has the Folly of a present Generation
 of Men been followed and supported by crafty
 and interested Politicians. Heaven grant, that
 Those, who are now rais’d to a Power of
 healing this Disorder, may never fall in with
 the common Infection of the Times. For, if our
 Physicians should catch the Diseases they are
 expected to Cure, what Hope can there be of
 a Recovery !

F I N I S.



THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

NUMBER VII.

THE
NATURE
AND
OBLIGATION
OF
OATHS.

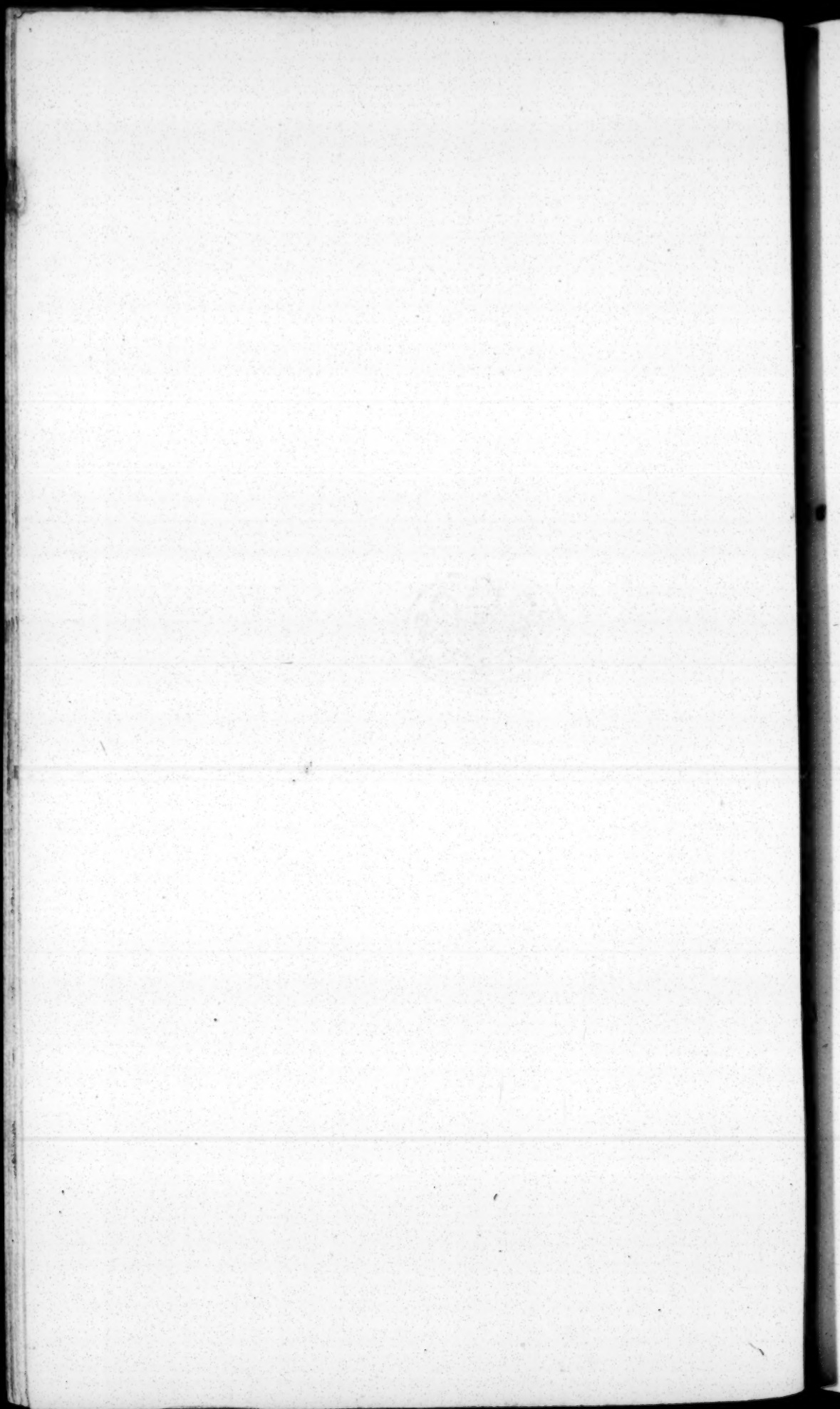
For the sake of my *English* Reader, I shall content my self to put the two following Quotations here in our own Tongue.

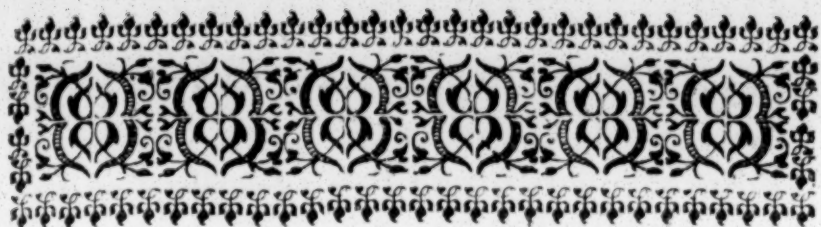
Plutar. in Lysand. He that deceiveth his *Enemy* by an *Oath*, doth confess thereby, that he *feareth* his *Enemy*, and *despiseth* GOD.

Q. Curtius, Lib. 7. Perfidiousness is a Crime which no Merits can atone for.

L O N D O N:

Printed for R. BURLEIGH in *Amen-Corner*, J. HARRISON at the *Royal Exchange*, and A. DODD without *Temple Bar*. 1716. (Price 3 d.)



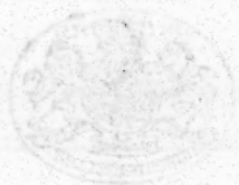


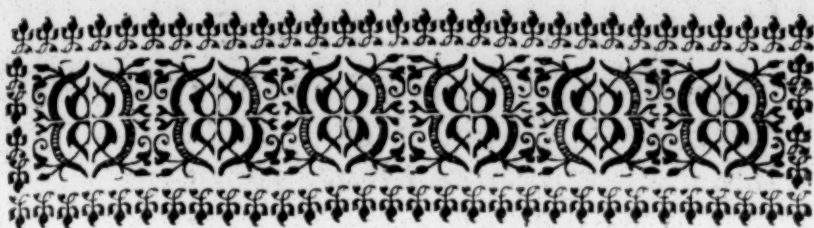
THE
NATURE
AND
OBLIGATION
OF
OATHS.



ALL civilized Nations have ever thought it necessary to preserve the Reverence and Religion of Oaths. They always abhorr'd the foulness of Perjury, and dreaded the dismal Consequences of it ; which indeed cannot in the End be less than the Subversion of private Rights, and Confusion of publick Order.

Yet there have sprung up frequently ill-minded and unpeaceable Men, who, to serve a bad Turn, have set themselves to find out some Legerdemain Trick of Reasoning, to debauch their own and others Consciences, and find a salvo for their Reputation ; while in one Act





THE
NATURE
AND
OBLIGATION
OF
OATHS.



ALL civilized Nations have ever thought it necessary to preserve the Reverence and Religion of Oaths. They always abhorr'd the foulness of Perjury, and dreaded the dismal Consequences of it ; which indeed cannot in the End be less than the Subversion of private Rights, and Confusion of publick Order.

Yet there have sprung up frequently ill-minded and unpeaceable Men, who, to serve a bad Turn, have set themselves to find out some Legerdemain Trick of Reasoning, to debauch their own and others Consciences, and find a salvo for their Reputation ; while in one Act
A 2 they

they are breaking both Tables, by a Sin which is the highest Affront to God, and of most injurious Consequence to Men. Our own Times furnish us with too flagrant Instances of such Men, and such Practices, in the Case of Oaths to the present Government. 'Tis remarkable how their Doctrines have vary'd with their Designs and Interest. Time was at the Revolution, when many of the same Men, in hopes of distressing King *William's* Government most effectually by that Course, when it was yet unsettled, harangu'd mightily upon the sacred Obligation of Oaths. They endeavour'd to possess the People, that no Assurance of Faith and Allegiance could be given to that Excellent Prince, without the Crime of Perjury in breaking their Oath to the Abdicated King. But now, while they retain the same Principles, and are as hearty Friends to the Pretender as they were then to his *supposed* Father, they have chang'd their Note, accounting it more for his Interest, and their own, to possess the Dignity, Profits and Power of publick Places and Preferments; by a new Cast of Art they are for taking *All Oaths*, even that which is far stronger than the Oath enjoin'd at the Revolution, on a Supposition that they are not oblig'd to keep *Any*.

I hope therefore, my Reader will not think it an unnecessary Attempt in this Essay, to discover the Deceit, and wipe off the artful Colours of these wicked Men, and to show him how he ought to abhor the Patrons of Perjury, and Breach of Faith. I cannot have the Vanity to expect I should be able to do any Service to such Men themselves; for no Reason is like to prevail upon People determin'd neither

to Fear God, nor Regard Man, as they certainly are, who have extinguish'd in their Hearts all Sense and Reverence of an Oath.

For an Oath is the most Strict and Religious Engagement to Truth and Faith among Men, By it we solemnly renounce all Benefit and Hope of the Divine Mercy, and subject our selves to Divine Vengeance, if we violate that Engagement. So the usual Forms of an Oath import. Such is the Form among our selves, *So help you God.* Such were the Ancient Forms in *Livy*, * *Do thou, O Jupiter, so strike him, as I do this Swine.* And elsewhere, † *Praying the Gods so to destroy him as he did that Lamb.* In this solemn manner Men oblige themselves by an Oath to Two Things. || One is, That they sincerely mean what the Words of their Oath express, whether in asserting a Thing for a Truth, or engaging themselves to the Performance of a Promise. This *Chrysippus*, with the *Greeks*, calls ἀληθορκεῖν, to *swear Truth*; the contrary to which is, ψευδορκεῖν, to *swear falsely*. The other is, That their future Actions be truly and honestly such as they engage for by their Oaths. This, the same *Chrysippus* calls εὖορκεῖν, to *swear well and rightly*: The contrary to which, when they break their Engagement in any Respect, is ἐπιορκεῖν, to *for-swear themselves*.

It was for very important and necessary Ends, that all Nations have introduc'd the Use and

* *Liv. Hist. L. 1.* Tu, Jupiter, ita illum ferito, ut ego hunc Porcum.

† *Ib. L. 21.* Deos precatus ita se mactarent, quem admodum ipse Agnum mactasset.

|| *Grot. de J. Bell. & Pac. II. 13. §. 13.*

Solemnity of Oaths. The Peace and Security of Government, the regular Administration of Justice, and the Preservation of private Rights, require, that Men shou'd be oblig'd, as far as possible, to speak Truth, and be faithful to their Promises: For all these, in many Respects, depend upon the Testimony and Promises of Men, and a Supposition of their Truth and Faithfulness. Upon this Account the *Romans* laid such a stress upon Oaths, as *Cicero* acquaints us. * *Our Ancestors chose no stronger Bond to confirm Men's Fidelity, than an Oath.* It was accordingly us'd upon all great Occasions, to lay the highest Obligation to Truth and Sincerity.

Sometimes it was us'd to determine a Case, where the Proof by Facts was not sufficiently evident. There are some Instances of this Use of an Oath in the *Roman Law*. Such was the *Necessary* † or *Suppletory* Oath, which was allow'd in some Cases to supply the want of full Proof, where yet there was a good degree of Probability. But this was administred with great Caution; not in Criminal Causes, or where there was a likely Danger of Perjury, or when more Witnesses might be produc'd to the same Fact. Such also was the *Voluntary* || or *Decisive* Oath, given by one Party to the other; when one of the Litigants, not able to make full Proof of his Plea, offer'd to stand to the Oath of his Adversary; which he was bound to accept, or make the same Offer back again. The *Canonists*

* *Cic. de Offic. III. 31.*

† *Cod. 4. 1. 3.*

|| *Dig. 12. 2. 38.*

would fain make these Oaths of a like Nature with their Oath of Purgation: But whoever compares them in their Nature and Use, will easily see the Difference. And how reasonable soever these Oaths might be in the Practice of the *Roman Law*, he will see the Practice of the other extremely hard and unreasonable in many Instances. But these are Things I design not to insist on.

Another, and a principal Design of an Oath, was to ascertain controverted Facts: To determine by the Testimony of Witnesses, and their Knowledge of the Truth, such Facts as were contested between the Parties. In most Cases, Right and Justice were determinable by the true Knowledge of the Facts alledg'd on both Sides; and therefore Witnesses were to give in their Testimony upon Oath, to impress their Minds with an Awe and Regard for Truth. Hence the *Roman Law* observes, * *Maximum Remedium expediendarum Litium, in Usus venit Jurisjurandi Religio*. Which may be english'd with very little Alteration by St. Paul's Words, *An Oath for Confirmation is an End of all Strife*.

Another great Use of an Oath, was to give a solemn Affirmance to Promises and Engagements; especially in such Cases where it was highly convenient to take the best Security for good Meaning and Honesty. Hence it was very early in Use for Subjects to strengthen their Promises of Fidelity and Allegiance to their Princes, or other Magistrates, by an Oath. And for the same Reason, it was introduc'd in

* Dig. 12. 2. 1.

many Places, that Princes and Magistrates should bind themselves by an Oath to the faithful Administration of their Power, and the Execution of the Laws by which they were to Rule, according to the Constitution of their Government.

From this plain Account of the Nature and Ends of an Oath, we may easily see how sacred and necessary the Obligation must be, where this intervenes to give a Sanction. There cannot be a stronger Tye to Truth and Faithfulness, than to call God a Witness of our good Meaning and Sincerity; to renounce, in a solemn Appeal to God himself, all hope of his Mercy and Protection, if we are not sincere and honest; by a like Solemnity to wish all the Evils of his Vengeance upon our own Heads, if knowingly and willingly we deceive in any Thing we affirm or promise. Sure they who can do all this, and at the same time have an Intention to deceive Men, must say in their Hearts, God does not see, or that he will not require it. Whatever goodly Professions they may make of a Zeal for God and the Church, 'tis hard for impartial By-standers, who see such notorious Atheism in their Actions, not to conclude them Atheists in their Hearts. They who can give Credit to their Professions, notwithstanding such Actions, may with the same easy Credulity believe a Man a sincere *Christian*, who turns all Christianity into *A Tale of a Tub*.

The sad Consequences of Perjury, both to the Publick, and to private Persons, may farther shew the necessary Obligation of an Oath. In such a Case, a Prince can never heartily depend

pend upon the Allegiance of his Subjects, or the Honesty of his Servants: He must have very just Occasion to suspect their Fidelity to him, who are known to make no Conscience of an Obligation to God. He may be tempted (if for the Sins of the People such a Prince should reign over them) to have as little Regard to his own Oath, as they have to theirs. And if so melancholy a Case should happen to a People, with what Face could those, who have already made bold with Perjury, censure or blame him? In all the Calamities, Hardships or Oppressions which may follow thereupon, they must be unpity'd by all disinterested People, as suffering no more than their own Perfidy call'd for and deserv'd.

But supposing a Good and Just Prince, who should make Conscience of his own Oath for Good Government, whatever his Subjects might do of theirs to Loyalty and Obedience: yet many fatal Evils must be consequent upon such Perjury. It could not fail to lay a Foundation for mutual Distrust and Discontent, and to destroy that mutual Confidence between Prince and People, which is the firmest Basis of a Nations Strength and Happiness. It must sow such Seeds of Jealousy and Suspicion, as cannot easily be rooted out; and while they remain, will disturb the Happiness of a People under the best of Governments, and reduce a powerful Nation to be weak at home, and despicable abroad. And it may make it necessary for a Prince of the kindest Temper, and best Disposition in the World, to put People under such uneasy Restraints as shall oblige them to Obedience, where 'tis manifest they are not to be kept within

B Bounds

Bounds by the Conscience and Religion of an Oath.

If we come to private Persons, the Mischiefs from Perjury are innumerable and insupportable. Every Man's Reputation, Fortune, Estate, and Life it self, may become a Sacrifice to false Oaths. Was the Reverence of an Oath to be generally lost, what should hinder some Men from Passion, Revenge, or Interest, to swear any thing; and others from the same bad Principles, to believe any thing that was sworn? By such Means an honest and worthy Man, notwithstanding the Protection of the Laws, may be reduc'd to Want and Beggary: Or if their Wickedness should carry them so far, (as who knows where it would stop?) they might make a Prey even of the Blood of the Innocent.

It may farther confirm the Opinion we ought to have of the sacred Obligation of Oaths, to observe how the wisest Governments, and most civilized Nations, have express'd their Abhorrence of Falshood and Perjury, what Care they have taken in their Laws to punish it, and prevent the bad Consequences of it. The Authority of an Oath (says the learned *Grotius* *) was highly considered by all Nations, and in every Age. The *Greeks*, and the *Romans* from them, had so high an Opinion of it, that they averr'd the Gods, as well as Men, were bound by it, as *Virgil* represents it:

*Cocyti stagna alta vides, Stygiamque Paludem,
Di cujus jurare timent & fallere numen,*

Æn. 6. 323.

* De Jure Belli & Pacis. II. 13. § 1.

——— You see the *Stygian* Floods,
 The sacred Stream, which Heav'n's impe-
 rial State
 Attests in Oaths, and fears to violate:
Dryden.

Herodotus † observes what early Care the *Perfians* took to instruct and principle their Youth to a Love of Truth, and Hatred of Lying and Deceit. From five Years old to twenty, they were exercis'd in three things chiefly; to Ride, to shoot an Arrow well, and to speak Truth. They were taught (he adds) that what was not lawful for them to do, was unlawful for them to say; for nothing was more abominable among them than to lie and deceive. The *Egyptians* || punish'd Perjury with Death, for this Reason, that it was a double Crime, a Violation of Piety to the Gods, and a Subversion of Faith among Men, the Bond of all Human Society. Tho' all sorts of Perjury were not capital by the *Roman* Laws; yet they were all punish'd with Infamy; which, in their Law was a severe Penalty, and deprived them of the most valuable Privileges of the Commonwealth. Above all, the Divine Law-giver of the *Jews* has shewn us an excellent Mean, by making the Punishment of Perjury proportionate to the Mischief intended by it*. If the Witness was a false Witness, they were to do to him as he thought

† Herod. Clio.

|| Diodor. Sic. 1.

* Deut. 19.

Bounds by the Conscience and Religion of an Oath.

If we come to private Persons, the Mischiefs from Perjury are innumerable and insupportable. Every Man's Reputation, Fortune, Estate, and Life it self, may become a Sacrifice to false Oaths. Was the Reverence of an Oath to be generally lost, what should hinder some Men from Passion, Revenge, or Interest, to swear any thing; and others from the same bad Principles, to believe any thing that was sworn? By such Means an honest and worthy Man, notwithstanding the Protection of the Laws, may be reduc'd to Want and Beggary: Or if their Wickedness should carry them so far, (as who knows where it would stop?) they might make a Prey even of the Blood of the Innocent.

It may farther confirm the Opinion we ought to have of the sacred Obligation of Oaths, to observe how the wisest Governments, and most civilized Nations, have express'd their Abhorrence of Falshood and Perjury, what Care they have taken in their Laws to punish it, and prevent the bad Consequences of it. The Authority of an Oath (says the learned *Grotius* *) was highly considered by all Nations, and in every Age. The *Greeks*, and the *Romans* from them, had so high an Opinion of it, that they averr'd the Gods, as well as Men, were bound by it, as *Virgil* represents it:

*Cocyti stagna alta vides, Stygiamque Paludem,
Di cujus jurare timent & fallere numen,*
Æn. 6. 323.

* De Jure Belli & Pacis. II. 13. § 1.

——— You see the *Stygian* Floods,
 The sacred Stream, which Heav'n's imperial State
 Attests in Oaths, and fears to violate:
Dryden.

Herodotus † observes what early Care the *Perfians* took to instruct and principle their Youth to a Love of Truth, and Hatred of Lying and Deceit. From five Years old to twenty, they were exercised in three things chiefly; to Ride, to shoot an Arrow well, and to speak Truth. They were taught (he adds) that what was not lawful for them to do, was unlawful for them to say; for nothing was more abominable among them than to lie and deceive. The *Egyptians* || punish'd Perjury with Death, for this Reason, that it was a double Crime, a Violation of Piety to the Gods, and a Subversion of Faith among Men, the Bond of all Human Society. Tho' all sorts of Perjury were not capital by the *Roman* Laws; yet they were all punish'd with Infamy; which, in their Law was a severe Penalty, and deprived them of the most valuable Privileges of the Commonwealth. Above all, the Divine Law-giver of the *Jews* has shewn us an excellent Mean, by making the Punishment of Perjury proportionate to the Mischief intended by it*. If the Witness was a false Witness, they were to do to him as he thought

† Herod. Clio.

|| Diodor. Sic. I.

* Deut. 19.

to do to his Brother. Life was to go for Life, if the Malice of the perjur'd Person struck at the Life of his Neighbour.

But tho' an Oath appears to be so sacred and important a Matter in the account of God, and of all wise and honest Men ; yet without doubt there are several Cases, wherein the Obligation of Promisory Oaths may be dissolv'd. To omit several which are plain and allowed, as the Illegality of the Engagement it self, the Incapacity of the Person to make it, or to make it good, or the voluntary Relaxation of the Party whose Service and Satisfaction alone were designed in it : I rather chuse to instance in such Circumstances whereby an Oath may lose its Force ; as I apprehend concurr'd to discharge the People of these Nations from their Oath of Allegiance to King *James*. If the Performance of an Oath becomes utterly inconsistent with some prior and superior Obligation, it must necessarily be superseded by That : Or, if the Engagement is made to a Person only as in a certain Capacity, it cannot bind when that Capacity ceases. Especially when there is a mutual Compact, then the Non-Performance of Covenants on one Part discharges the other.

Every Man is under earlier and higher Engagements to the Community in general, than he is to the supreme Magistrate. Regard is due to Him more than to Another, only as the Head of the Community, and for the sake of the Community : And therefore no Oath of Allegiance can lawfully be taken, without an Eye to the Publick Safety. Now in all *Common* Circumstances it is for the Publick Good, that the Interest and Authority of the supreme Magistrate should

should be supported and maintained : And therefore ordinarily the Oath of Allegiance fully binds All the Subjects to stand by their Prince: Indeed their Duty to their Country obliges them to do so, tho' they were not sworn to it. And 'tis not every little Violation of the Prince's Duty that will discharge them from this. But whenever an Adherence to the Prince becomes absolutely inconsistent with the Publick Good; if Bigotry, or Ambition, or the Influence of wicked Counsellors, prevail with him to endeavour the Destruction of the Government and Constitution; then our superiour Obligation to our Country nulls our Allegiance to such a Prince.

Another thing to be consider'd in this Matter, is, That the Subject's Allegiance has a Respect to the Laws. He swears to the Sovereign as a Legal King, and promises Allegiance and Fidelity to him, because the Laws require it. Tho' this Respect to the Law should not be express'd in the Oath, it must always be implied, unless the King be absolute, and the Laws signify nothing. Now the Law acknowledges no Prince who subverts the Constitution; but he is truly dead in Law: And therefore no more Allegiance is due to Him than if he lay dead in his Grave.

The Case is yet plainer, when we consider the mutual Compact between a *British* King, and his Subjects. He solemnly engages to maintain the Laws, and govern according to them: This is the plain Sense of his Coronation Oath. The People reciprocally engage Allegiance. Now if the Prince evidently renounces His Part, they must be absolved from Theirs.

This

This is the plain Language of the *Magna Charta* granted by King *John* : From the Original Articles of which, then in the Hands of Bishop *Burnet*, his Lordship recites this express Provision.

* ' That in Case the King should violate any
' Part of it, and should refuse to rectify what he
' had done amiss, it should be lawful for the
' Barons, and the whole People of *England*, to
' distress him by all the Ways they could think
' on ; such as the seizing on his Castles, Lands,
' and Possessions: Provision being only made
' for the Safety of the Persons of the King and
' Queen, and of their Children ?

King *James* accordingly set up an Interest entirely opposite to that of the Publick, violated the Laws, and his Oath to observe them ; by asserting and exercising a dispensing Power, which must annul all the Laws in its Consequence ; by erecting illegal Courts, invading the People's Free-holds, and many other Acts of Arbitrary Power. And when humbly applied to, *to rectify what he had done amiss*, would not return to the Duty of a King to govern by Law, but rather chose to fly out of the Kingdom. Hereupon the States of the Nation declared *the Throne vacant*. Our Neighbours of *Scotland* founded this Conclusion upon his *Fore-faulting*, as they express'd it ; and We on his *Abdicating the Government*. The Convention coming to this Resolution, *That King James the Second having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original Contract between King and People, and by the Advice of Jesuits,*

* Burn. *Past. Lett.* p. 27.

and other wicked Persons, having violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself from the Government, hath abdicated the Government: And that the Throne is thereby vacant. One of the Managers * of the Commons, whose Death we are now lamenting, in a Conference with the Lords upon this Resolve, clearly explains their Meaning about his *Abdicating*, or renouncing the Government: || ‘ That he renounced to be a King ‘ according to the Constitution, by avowing to ‘ govern by a Despotick Power, unknown to ‘ the Constitution, and inconsistent with it: ‘ That he renounced to be a King according to ‘ the Law, such a King as he swore to be at the ‘ Coronation; such a King to whom the Allegiance of an *English* Subject is due: And had ‘ set up another Kind of Dominion, which is to ‘ all Intents an *Abdication*, or *Abandoning of his Legal Title*, as fully as if it had been done by ‘ exprefs Words.

On these Principles the States of the Kingdom settled the Crown on our Great Deliverer, King *William*, and his excellent Consort Queen *Mary*. And by Virtue of that, and other consequent Entails, the Allegiance of the Subject was transferred to those Princes, of Blessed Memory, and we are fully satisfied we are discharg’d of former Obligations. For those who came into that Government, and yet asserted an absolute indefeasible Right in the King on the one Hand, and an Obligation on themselves to an

* Lord Somers.

|| *Debate between Lords and Commons, about the Word Abdicated, &c.* 8°. 1695. p. 31, 32.

unlimited Passive Obedience on the other ; let them answer for their own Conduct.

I am sure many, who avow those Principles, promis'd Fidelity to the Government of his present Majesty King *George*, both before his Accession, and since, as far as Oaths in the strongest Terms could go ; and yet have boldly ventur'd upon an open Rebellion against him, and declar'd for the *Pretender*. And 'tis too plain of many others, who have not gone that Length, that though they have glibly swallow'd all the Oaths, either for a Place, or upon the late general Summons, yet they have meant nothing less than Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty all the while : Instead of that they countenance, they vindicate the Rebels, and fly every Day as far as Fear will let them, in the Face of the Government. If the King had gone into Interests directly contrary to those of *Britain*, and the Protestant Religion ; if he had violated the Laws, and gone contrary to his Oath, since he came among us, there might be some Reason for the Change of their Sentiments, who took the Oaths to him at first : Tho' this could be pleaded but with a very ill Grace by those I am speaking of, upon their Principles. But Malice it self cannot fix such an Imputation.

The Case of these People is far worse still. They are not only guilty of Perjury, by receding from the Allegiance they once promis'd, without a just Reason for doing so ; but of a Perjury unspeakably worse. At the very Time they are taking all these Oaths they detest them, have the most hostile Mind to the King they swear to, and are entirely attach'd to him they renounce. A Man may, by mistake, think
himself

himself absolv'd from his Allegiance, when he is not so; which extenuates the Flagrancy of the Crime. But to give the Security of an Oath, in Affirmance of a Fact which he absolutely disbelieves, or in Assurance of such a Promise as at the Time he judges unlawful, wants a Word black enough to express it. Certainly they must either depend upon a Popish Absolution, or have some Salvo for Conscience, which is hitherto unknown; 'tis no Uncharitableness to pronounce that they must have no Conscience at all. For the Pretences they make for their Conduct are so superficial, that I cannot think they will venture to lay a Stress upon them.

Some would excuse themselves by pretending a want of Authority in the Government to require an Oath from them. Till their young Master comes, (they say) there is no Authority, no Parliament, no Law: And therefore the Oath is to pass for nothing. Not to enter into the valid Authority of the Government at present, but to suppose for once their Rant upon it true: This could by no means excuse them from the Guilt of Perjury. While they have such an Apprehension, they should demur to the Authority, and refuse the Oath. In that Case they would act like honest Men. But to make the most solemn Acknowledgment of the Government, and give the strongest Assurances by an Oath, to support it, and yet think it void of all Authority the while, must be Perjury in Perfection.

But they alledge, ' They are under a Force,
' and what is extorted by Fear and Violence,
' cannot induce an Obligation, or bind to Per-
C formance.

‘formance. In such Cases (they say) whatever they promise, or in what Form soever, all their Engagements are null and void from the Beginning. And such a Circumstance as takes away the necessary Freedom of a Man’s Actions, can never lay a lawful or an equitable Bond upon his Conscience.

This seems the chief Refuge of the Party. And yet most apparently it has no Weight at all in it, except what the Reputation of their great Casuist may give it, who thus expresses it after his usual grave Manner in serious Matters.

*He that imposes an Oath, makes it,
Not he that for Convenience takes it :
Then how can any Man be said
To break an Oath he never made ? Hud.*

But it must be remembred, this was the Poet’s Satyr upon Men, whom he would represent void of all Faith and Virtue. The Non-jurors, the fast Friends of these People, us’d all their Casuistical Skill at the Revolution against this Plea. They would not be prevail’d on, by the Help of such a Salvo, to take the Oaths themselves ; and warmly condemn’d all that did, as faithless perjur’d Men, who had no Fear of God, or Sense of an Oath. So that they may be sure they are look’d upon by the Non-jurors with a Detestation of their Perjury, equal to the Abhorrence of it, which we express ; however they may seem to caress them for the Advancement of a common Interest ; unless Conscience, Law, and the Nature of Oaths, are such variable Things, that what was impious and Perjury in 1689. may become harmless and innocent
in

in 1716. But let us examine the Plea a little more closely.

They are under a Force, they say, and the Oaths to the present Government are extorted from them by Fear and Violence. But what is this Force? where is this Violence which so sadly frightens them? It seems without the fullest Acknowledgment of the King's Title, and swearing Allegiance to him, they cannot have a Share in his Counsels; either to betray them to his Enemies, or by their own treacherous Advice to imbroil his Affairs. They cannot without abjuring the Pretender, serve his Interests by a Vote for Representatives in Parliament; they cannot keep up the Spirit of his Party, by protecting his Friends at a Quarter-Sessions; or use a Commission in the Lieutenancy to prepare the Militia for an Insurrection in his Favour. They cannot without taking these Oaths live in Plenty themselves upon the King's Bounty; or possess the Advantages which Places of Power and Trust will give them, to alienate the Affections of their Friends and Dependants from his Person and Government. They cannot, it seems, without these Securities, retain the Dignities and Preferments of the Church; help to secure a County Election to the Friends of the Chevalier, or continue to poison the Minds of the unthinking Part of the Nation, by vile Harangues against the King's Person and Administration. But in good Earnest, Was there ever a Government in the World that did not insist on Engagements of Fidelity from their Subjects, especially from such as were favoured, intrusted, and enriched by it, or were capable of doing it a Mischief by that very Power and Authority they receive

from it? Whatever Faults these Men may espy in the present Administration; this would be an unpardonable Weakness, not to take such necessary Care of it self, as a Security for the Faithfulness of the Persons it trusts and employs. So that if there be any Weight in this Objection at all, it is an admirable Invention to dissolve the Obligations of Allegiance to all Magistrates: For all Subjects ever have been, and ever will be, under such a Force as this in all Governments in the World.

But now (they say) Matters are carried farther. *They are liable to the Penalties of Popish Recusants, if they refuse these Oaths.* And are they not then under Force, or Fear? I'll suppose them to run as great Risques by their Recusancy, as they themselves can express in the most tragical Representation of their Case; and yet must say, they would conclude too fast, if they think that such a Circumstance will make null and void their Engagements to the Government, so that no lawful or equitable Bond shall be left on their Consciences. Either they promise upon Oath a Thing lawful or unlawful. If the Matter be lawful, without doubt it must leave a lawful Obligation on the Conscience: For nothing is plainer than that a Man may lawfully perform whatever he may lawfully promise: And if he lawfully may, 'tis certain he must, when he has bound himself to it by an Oath. Upon this Ground, the Learned Bishop *Sanderfon*, whose Judgment is universally allow'd in this Case of Oaths, asserts *, ' That a Man's

* *Sanderfon de Jurement. P. 1. 4. S. 15.*

‘ Oath,

‘ Oath, even in the Hands of Robbers, is binding, if he covenant to pay a Price for the Redemption of his Life ; because it is not only lawful, but becomes a prudent Man, of two Evils to chuse the least, and submit to the Loss of his Money rather than the Loss of his Life. But on the other Hand, if the Matter of the Oath propos’d be unlawful, it is then as plain, that no Force can bind us to lay our selves under such an Engagement, or justify our Compliance with it. ‘ † In such a Case (*swearing to the Performance of a thing unlawful*) ‘ an Oath ought not to be taken by an honest Man, no, not even to avoid Death it self ? An Heathen Poet could see what Constancy and Firmness became a good and honest Man in such a Case.

*Iustum, & tenacem Propositi virum
Non Civium Ardor prava jubentium,
Non Vultus instantis Tyranni
Mente quatit solidâ. Hor. l. 3. Od. 3.*

The Man who’s just, and resolutely true,
To what he once has well design’d,
Not all the Fury of a lawless Crew,
Nor the stern Frowns which threatening
Tyrants shew,
Can change or shake his solid Mind.

In short, there is no Way to avoid the Charge of Perjury upon this Pretence : If their Engagements by the Oaths are lawful, they are perjur’d if they break them : If they apprehend

† Sand. *Præl.* 4. S. 15.

them unlawful, they are perjur'd when they take them. Reverence for a Deity would not allow Men to trifle in Matters of this Nature.

But certainly a great deal lies upon Governours for preserving the General Authority of Oaths. And with all Deference to the Wisdom of Superiors, I would humbly offer, whether it be not a Matter of great Consequence to that End, that these solemn Assurances should not be unnecessarily multiplied; or requir'd on light and trivial Occasions, or where the End may be obtain'd without an immediate Appeal to God, or to assert Matters where Subjects may be suppos'd doubtful in their own Mind.

*Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit: ——— Hor. de Art. Poet.*

Never presume to make a God appear,
But for a Business worthy of a God.

Roscommon.

When People are accustom'd to bring themselves for every low and common Purpose, under the most sacred Ties, which were intended as a Security in the Greatest Affairs; Experience shews, that this naturally abates the Reverence for them. As the frequent Use of the Name of God in common Conversation, wears off the Sense of the Divine Majesty: Many have contracted such a Habit of Profane Swearing, that they are insensible when they do it. This Disregard of Oaths is run to such a Length, that Men are hir'd to swear for others, as they are to serve Offices; and all seems to pass with them

them for as empty a Form as the Complements of Civility, or the Fashions of Life.

'Tis true, indeed, in the best regulated Governments, even in that where God himself was the supreme Lawgiver, Oaths were required in some Matters which were not of the greatest Consequence in themselves ; as in the Case of an Ox, * or an Ass, deposited with a Neighbour, and destroy'd or stolen. But this was only where the Matter could not otherwise be brought to a Certainty, and as the last Resort ; when the Damage was done, *no Man seeing it*. But if the Truth can be come at without such Purgations, certainly it were much more desirable.

For Subjects to be requir'd to give the Assurance of an Oath in Matters disputable, of meer Opinion and Speculation ; to testify this Way their Orthodox Principles, unless in Cases of undoubted Moment to the Peace of the Society, is still less justifiable, and must in the Consequence of it depreciate the Sacredness of Oaths in general.

The Best Men, those of the nicest Integrity, and most tender of an Oath, would be the most cramp'd in such a Way of Procedure : And the Government be depriv'd of the Assistance of the most faithful and honest Men, such as *fear an Oath* ; while others of greater Latitude, and less Sincerity, will easily find their Way to Employments of greatest Trust, and yet you cannot have a sufficient Hold of them. 'Tis worth considering, whether an Oath taken in

* Exod. 22. 10, 11, 12.

the dark, or contrary to Men's present Sentiments, will not prepare them for numberless Perjuries. I wish some *Ecclesiastical Oaths* have not pav'd the Way for trifling with *State-Oaths*.

The noted Moralift, *Hierocles* *, perfectly agrees with what I have been saying. ' The best way to keep up the Reverence of an Oath, ' is not to use it frequently, or rashly, or to fill ' up a Discourse, or to give Credit to a Narra- ' tive; but, as far as may be, in Matters neces- ' sary and honourable; and when these Things ' can be secur'd no other Way than by the Assu- ' rance of an Oath.

Governors have a farther Concern, to lay such Restraints upon Perjury, as are proportion'd to the Offence. Severe Penalties are best us'd against the greatest Crimes: Such as affect the Peace and Security of Government in general, and of every private Person in particular. On that Account it was not thought too severe to make this Crime Capital in some Cases by the *Jewish Law*.

And it might deserve a higher Observation, than this, of an Occasional Paper, how it comes to pass, that it is Capital by our Laws to rob a Man to the Value of Five Shillings; and the Punishment of Perjury should be only † Six Months Imprisonment, a Fine of Twenty Pounds, and Incapacity to be allow'd afterwards as a legal Witness: When yet the Preamble of the Statute observes, ' That by Reason of the wilful Perjuries committed by sub-

* *Hierocl. in Carm. Pythag.* κὲ σέβει ὅρκον.

† 5 *Eliz. c. 9.*

‘ orned Witnesſes, divers, and ſundry of the
 ‘ Queen’s Maſteſty’s Subjects have ſuſtained
 ‘ Diſheriſon, and great Impoveriſhment, as
 ‘ well of their Lands and Tenements, as alſo
 ‘ of their Goods and Chattels.

It may likewise deſerve Obſervation, that it was ſo late as this Fifth of *Eliz.* before Perjury was taken Notice of in our Statutes at all. The Eccleſiaſtical Court, it ſeems, had put in a Claim to the ſole Cognizance of this Crime. *Boniſace*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Reign of *Henry* the Third, (at which Time our Statutes begin) by a Provincial Conſtitution † threatens all the King’s Officers who ſhould preſume to proceed upon it with Suſpenſion, Excommunication, and an Interdict. It is eaſie to ſee what mighty Miſchiefs this Claim was like to occaſion. When the Clergy had the ſole Jurisdiction of Oaths and Perjury, they could protect all they ſhould judge for their own Service: And Men were left under no Reſtraint or Fear to break an Oath, where they could obtain an Eccleſiaſtical Diſpenſation for it. Upon this Pretence alſo, the Popes actually claim’d an Authority to determine the Rights of Princes and Kingdoms. Thus Pope *Innocent* the Third demanded, that a Difference between the Kings of *England* and *France* ſhould be heard before his Legates, *becauſe it was paſt Doubt that it belong’d to the Eccleſiaſtical Judicatory, to arbitrate in the Violation of Treaties* ||.

† *Conſt. Bonifac. de Pœnis.*

|| *Nunquid non poterimus de Juramenti Religione cognoscere: Quod ad Judicium Eccleſiæ non eſt dubium pertinere, ut rupta Pacis Fœdera reformentur. Decretal. Lib. 2. Tit. 1. cap. 13.*

When the Reformation was happily established among us under Queen *Elizabeth*, we find our Legislators hardy enough to make a Statute against Perjury: But whether such a Crime may not deserve yet a further Consideration, is humbly submitted to the great Wisdom of the Legislature it self.

However, every private Person is concern'd, in common Justice to the Cause of Truth and Honesty, to do all that is possible to restrain this pernicious Evil. A perjured Person was formerly infamous by Law, and incapable of any Office which requir'd Faithfulness and Sincerity. The Reason of that Law remains; And they may yet be infamous in the Judgment of every Good and Honest Man. And their Infamy should in Proportion be greater, who by their Character or Profession ought to have a stricter Regard to Truth and Sincerity. A Man who appears to make no Conscience of an Oath, deserves no Regard to his Word, whatever Character he bears, or whatever he says. Justice to Truth, Charity to the rest of Mankind, and a prudent Caution for our selves, require, that such a Man should be esteem'd unworthy of all Credit. This may go a great Way to prevent the Mischiefs we may suppose such bad Men have in their Design; for by lessening their Credit, they must lose some part of their Power to effect them.



F I N I S.



THE Author of this Paper begs the Excuse of some late Correspondents, that he do's not take Notice of their Letters. He acknowledges himself a Debtor, and will take the fittest Opportunities of obliging some, and answering others.



A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Any kind of Letters, Essays, Extracts out of valuable Authors, or Intelligence of any Affairs which may serve the first declared Intention of this Paper, will be thankfully received, if directed to the Author of the Occasional Paper, to be left at North's Coffee-House, King's-street, near Guildhall, London. Post paid.

Lately Published,

THE Occasional Paper. Number I. An Essay on Bigotry. Price 3 d.

Number II. The Character of a Protestant. Price 3 d.

Number III. Containing, 1. Protestant Principles concerning Civil Government. 2. A brief Answer to the Charge of Sedition, urged by the Papists against the Protestants in Germany. 3. An Attempt to state Matters truly, with
re-

ADVERTISEMENT.

reference to our 30th of *January*. To which is added a Supplement, being some farther Thoughts on the 30th of *January*. Price 4. d.

Number IV. An Expedient for Peace among all Protestants. In a Letter to the Author of the *Occasional Paper*. Price 3 d.

Number V. The Excellence of Virtue appearing in a Publick Character. Price 4 d.

Number VI. The Danger of the Church considered. Price 3 d.

Printed for R. Burleigh in *Amen-Corner*, J. Harrison at the *Royal Exchange*, and A. Dodd without *Temple-Bar*.



THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

NUMBER VIII.

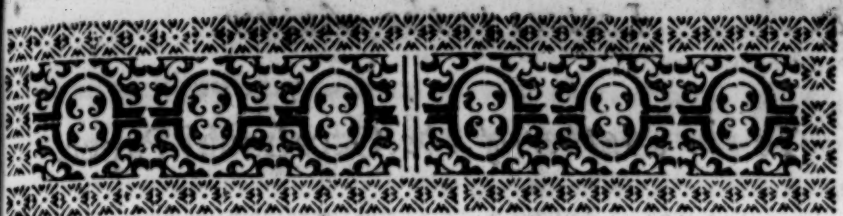
LETTERS
TO THE
AUTHOR.

*Tres mihi Convivæ propè dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato.
Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu quod jubet alter.
Quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.*

Hor. Ep.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. BURLEIGH in *Amen-Corner*, J. HARRISON at the *Royal Exchange*, and A. DODD without *Temple Bar*. 1716. (Price 3 d.)



LETTERS

TO THE

AUTHOR.



THE Variety of Humours and Sentiments an Author has to deal with, are very elegantly compared, in the Verses that adorn my Title, to the different Palates and Relishes of Men at a Feast. 'Tis hard to know either what to provide, or what not to provide : One calling for that which Another rejects ; and He again, desiring what may be accounted most ungrateful to those on each hand. This the following Letters will exemplify ; and, I hope, will provoke some of my wise and good temper'd Readers to grant me more of their Help, when they see how I am beset.

One of my Correspondents has found out a Way of entertaining himself, with the three first Papers, so very different from what was imagin'd at the writing of them, that it may serve to put my Reader into something of the same pleasant Temper, with that humorous Gentleman, to communicate it : And I shall hope to gain the more favourable Reception of what follows, if the First Letter may but promote any thing of Good Humour.

To the Author of the Occasional Paper.

S I R,

I Take my self to be intended with others, in your *Advertisement*, as I deal now and then in *Letters, Essays, &c.* Therefore, without any more Ceremony, I send you *this Essay* on your own *Performances*. I allow many Things in them to be very good, for they hit my own Humour, and that is a very honest Reason for it. Nor am I much displeased at other Things, which as a Critick I can find fault with. If you write thus on purpose, you are a judicious Writer, and sure to gratify the popular Taste of the Town.

You would represent Bigottry as a very faulty and dangerous Thing. Is it your View, Sir, to overturn the Foundations of Polity and Societies, and destroy the very Soul and Spirit that acts them? Re-consider your own Reasons. Is that *unmanly*, without which no Man can make now-adays a good Figure in the World, in any Business, or Profession? Is that *ungenteel*, which the best bred Part of the Nation has long since made, and does still continue a general Fashion. Sure, morosely to oppose an establish'd Fashion, is none of that Complaisance, which you say becomes good Breeding, and a liberal Education. But how, I beseech you, can it be *unchristian*, when it has been generally receiv'd in almost all Churches, and bids as fair as most Practices for an antient and uninterrupted Tradition? Sure you are in jest, when you tell us 'tis *unphilosophical*? Did you ever consider how many *Systems* of *Philosophy* are entirely supported by it? Has not Philosophy a great Share in your Friendship, when you are, at one Stroke,

Letters to the Author.

Stroke, about to destroy seven Eighths of all the Philosophy in the World? To add that it is *im-politick*, is the most whimsical Reason of all: One would imagine you liv'd in a silent Grove, remote from Human Kind, not to observe 'tis the most successful Policy of our Day. Can any one thing more recommend a Man to popular Favour among us? This Quality alone can make a Man a *bright Ornament of the Church*, without any other Pretence to it: And procure him more Votes in a County, than his Estate, his Sense, or all his other Virtues put together.

You next pretend to give us the *Character of a Protestant*. 'Tis well you tell us you describe the Old Protestants, who, good Souls, are all dead long since. For ought I know, you may have some Likeness of *theirs* in your Picture; but what is that to *us Protestants* now? Must we be drawn in Ruffs, because it was a Fashion in the Days of *Queen Bess*? Do you your self think your Character will sute the present Times? I would not be uncharitable, and imagine you are a Jesuit in Disguise: But suppose some body should write a Supplement to your Character; might he not insinuate, upon your Principles, it would be hard among the Protestants to shew a visible Church? What if you should write a Supplement your self, and, as a *Spaniard* can, shew to an Eighth, how much of old Christian each Person has in him, you should let us know how many Decimal Parts of old Protestant does still remain among us?

You have not yet done with *Protestant Principles*. They must be brought in to determine the Nature of *Civil Government*: But pray, Sir, why were not the *Oxford Decrees* thought worthy to come in, with the rest of the authentick Decisions of Protestant Churches? Do you think that Learned Body, which is one of the Eyes of
Europe,

Europe, and has so much Interest in the greatest Protestant Church in the World, does not deserve as much Consideration as your old Confessions? especially when some of them (by the By) were made by Presbyterians? They would have shewn you, your Confessions are superannuated, and that we are much better instructed now, from that pure Fountain of Learning and Loyalty.

The next Form I find you or your Correspondent in, is a Projector. Really, Sir, I have seldom observ'd any great Advantage from Expedients, and least of all do expect any from an *Expedient for Peace among all Protestants*. If you could find out such a thing, I deny not but it might be near upon as good, as a Discovery of the *Longitude*; but it seems at present, unless you have reserved Part of your Expedient in *Petto*, as unlikely and impracticable as that Invention. You would have Men *agree to differ*: An admirable Invention! But how do you design to effect it? Make a Tryal; get an Act for three Years to make Men honest; see what good Effect it will have, and proceed as you like it. But, every Man shall be allowed to think and act, according to his own Judgment, if he hurt not his Neighbour, or the Government in their Civil Rights. Say you so, Sir? But what then will become of Order, the Power to decree Rights and Ceremonies, and Authority in Matters of Faith? What will be then the Use of Canons and Constitutions, of Synods and Convocations? I can assure you, Sir, these are more numerous and formidable Enemies than *Don Quixot's* Windmill, or Puppets. I fancy, at last, you must do with your Expedient, as most Projectors do with theirs; keep it to your self. You may possibly meet with half a Dozen, or so, that may join with you in permitting others to differ from you; but you will be put to it to find

find out half a score, that will agree you should differ from them.

However, Sir, I must own my self obliged to you for some Entertainment in your Papers, and shall continue to read them as long you are in Humour to write them, and am Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

Jonathan Roschat.

MY next Correspondent I must acknowledge my self obliged to, more than *once*; but must beg his Pardon, if I insert only his *last Letter*; which is upon the Subject of the *Fifth Occasional Paper*, and is indeed very proper to be added to what is there said. 'Tis an Extract out of a Book written originally in *French*, and translated by Dr. *Stanhope*. The Doctor's Opinion of what is deliver'd upon the Subject of *Government*, in a Dedication to my Lord *Dartmouth*, my Correspondent thinks will be of Service to recommend what he has thus transcribed for me.

*The Sieur de Charron of Wisdom, B. 3.
Ch. 3. §. 2.*

TH E Author having spoken of the Necessity of a Prince's having the Good-will and Affection of his People, mentions the Methods for obtaining it; the first of which is Moderation and Gentleness. And after somewhat said of the Necessity of it, to prevent Mistakes, he closes his Discourse on it thus;

“ In

“ In the mean while, give me leave to add,
 “ that by this Gentleness and Moderation, I do
 “ not mean such a tame and easy, negligent and
 “ effeminate Softness, as lets the Reins of Go-
 “ vernment perfectly loose; for this will expose
 “ a Prince to Reproach and Contempt, and de-
 “ generate into an Extream ten thousand times
 “ worse than that of Fear. In all these Cases,
 “ therefore, a Commander must observe how far
 “ he can go decently *, and what Indulgences
 “ are consistent with his Honour. And the pro-
 “ per Province, as well as the Excellence and
 “ Commendation of Prudence, in Matters of this
 “ Nature, will be, to make a just Mixture of
 “ Justice and Gentleness, that a Prince may nei-
 “ ther seek to be fear’d, by Methods of Rigour
 “ and Extremity, and rendring himself a publick
 “ Terrour to the World; nor study to ingratiate
 “ himself, and become Popular and Belov’d, by
 “ Methods so mean and unworthy, as should
 “ make him despicable, and a Jest and Scorn of
 “ the World.

Afterwards, §. 5. Our Author observes, that it
 is necessary for a Prince to keep up his Authority;
 and proceeding to specify the several things requi-
 site thereto, he writes thus:

“ The first of these is Severity; which, com-
 “ monly speaking, is much more for the Safety
 “ and Advantage of a Governour, and a better
 “ and more durable Defence from Enemies and
 “ Dangers, than Easiness and Clemency; because
 “ these are so very seldom temper’d with Discre-
 “ tion; and a great Softness and Gentleness of
 “ Disposition is exceeding apt to degenerate,
 “ and, as was hinted before, to produce very

* Sed incorrupto Ducis honore. *Tacit.*

" mischievous Effects. Of this several good Ac-
 " counts may be given ; as first, the natural Hu-
 " mour of the People, which, as *Aristotle* very
 " truly observ'd, is not cast in so good a Mould,
 " as to be tractable ; nor will they be contained
 " in their Duty by any Principles so generous, as
 " Love or Shame ; nothing less, nothing better
 " will do it than Force and Fear, Extremity and
 " a Dread at least of Punishment. A second Rea-
 " son is the general Corruption of Manners, and
 " that Extravagance and Debauchery, which,
 " like a contagious Distemper, hath tainted and
 " overspread all the World ; and this by being
 " general, takes Courage, grows insolent and
 " presumptuous ; and is so far from any Possibi-
 " lity of being reform'd by fair Means, that such
 " Gentleness only inflames the Disease, and makes
 " Vice more bold and triumphant. It begets
 " Contempt of Superiors, and strengthens the
 " Wicked with Hopes of Impunity, which is the
 " Plague and Bane of all Law, and all Govern-
 " ment. For, as *Cicero* says, * *the most powerful*
 " *Temptation to offend, arises from the Hope of Im-*
 " *punity.* And most certain it is, that Rigour up-
 " on particular notorious Offenders, is the greatest
 " Mercy that can possibly be shewn to the Pub-
 " lick, and the whole Body of Subjects in general.
 " There is sometimes a Necessity of making sig-
 " nal and solemn Examples, thus at the Expence
 " of private Sufferings, to teach other People Wis-
 " dom, and to prevent the exorbitant Growth of
 " Villany, by cutting it short betimes. The Bo-
 " dy Politick is in this respect subject to the same
 " Dangers, and must submit to the same Methods

* Illecebra peccandi maxima spes impunitatis.

“ of Cure, with our natural Body ; where a Fin-
 “ ger is many times taken off out of a mere Prin-
 “ ciple of Tenderness ; that by this seeming Bar-
 “ barity, a Mortification may be prevented from
 “ seizing the whole Arm first, and then the Vi-
 “ tals. And thus that King of *Thrace* made no
 “ ill Answer to one that reproached him with
 “ playing the Part, not of a King, but a Mad-
 “ man : *Ay, Sir, (says he) but this Madness of*
 “ *mine keeps my Subjects in their Senses ; and they*
 “ *grow miser by that which you think my Folly.* Seve-
 “ rity keeps Officers and Magistrates strictly to
 “ their Duty, and promotes a faithful Execution
 “ of their respective Trusts ; it discountenances
 “ Flatterers, and turns Parasites out of Doors ;
 “ the Wicked and Dissolute, the impudent Beg-
 “ gar and little Tyrants of the Court are not able
 “ to stand before it. Whereas, on the contrary,
 “ Easiness and excessive Mildness of Temper
 “ opens the Gate wide, and admits all these infam-
 “ ous Wretches, by whose Importunity and Un-
 “ reasonableness the publick Treasures are ex-
 “ hausted, and squander’d away ; all manner of
 “ Vice is encouraged, the Kingdom is impover-
 “ ish’d : All which, and a great many other Mi-
 “ series, like Colds and Catarrhs, in a Rheuma-
 “ tick and distemper’d Body, break the Consti-
 “ tution, and fall and settle, like the Humours,
 “ upon the weakest Parts. The Good-nature of
 “ *Pertinax*, and the Licentiousness of *Heliogaba-*
 “ *lus* had like to have lost All, and were very
 “ near ruining the *Roman* Empire ; and then the
 “ strict Discipline of *Severus* first, and afterwards
 “ of *Alexander*, restor’d and made all whole
 “ again.

“ But still Extreame must be avoided, and the
 “ Severity I recommended should be exercised
 “ with

“ with prudent Reserve, and just Distinction : It
 “ must not be a thing of constant Practice, but
 “ now and then, upon justifiable and important
 “ Occasions, and when it may be seasonable and
 “ effectual. For the End of this Dispensation
 “ must always direct the Use of the Means ; and
 “ the Design of all Rigour in the Administration
 “ of Justice, is plainly this, * *That the Sufferings of*
 “ *a few may work Terror and Amendment in the rest.*
 “ Thus the Almighty Law-giver himself, renders
 “ an Account of several Exemplary and Capital
 “ Punishments among the *Israelites*,
 “ *That all Israel may hear, and fear,* Deut. 21.
 “ *and do no more wickedly.* Now,
 “ such Executions, when grown daily and fami-
 “ liar, lose their Efficacy ; and therefore that an-
 “ tient Author was certainly in the right, who as-
 “ firm'd, that some few publick Examples con-
 “ tribute more to the Reformation of the People,
 “ than frequent Punishments, which come thick
 “ upon one another, can possibly do. The
 “ Reason of which is, that the more surpri-
 “ zing and new any Impressions of this Kind are,
 “ the more strong, and terrible, and awakening
 “ they are. But then all this is to be understood
 “ of Common Cases ; for if Vice gather Strength,
 “ if the Profelytes and Practicers of it grow nu-
 “ merous, and resolute, and bold, in such a Case
 “ Compassion is the greatest Cruelty ; Fire and
 “ Sword are then the only Remedies, and it is
 “ necessary to go thorough with the Cure. And
 “ whatever Imputations of a bloody and barbarous
 “ Temper may in such Circumstances be cast up-
 “ on a Prince, they are but the Effects of Igno-

* Ut Poena ad paucos, metus ad omnes.

“ rance and unjust Censure ; for here again it is in
 “ the State, as in these private Bodies of ours,
 “ where * *the Extremity of a Disease, and the Un-*
 “ *governableness of the Patient, forces the Physician*
 “ *to be cruel* ; and he would betray his Skill, and
 “ be false to his Profession, should he relent, and
 “ be otherwise.

“ A second Expedient for establishing and pre-
 “ serving a Prince’s Authority, is Constancy ; a
 “ Firmness and resolved Temper of Mind, by
 “ which he keeps to his own Methods, &c.

To the Author of the Occasional Paper.

Sir, or rather Sirs ; for I hear you are many :

p. 17 **T**HE Regard you shew’d to a former Letter,
 in publishing your Thoughts upon the 30th
 of *January*, I took as a Favour ; but chose, from
 thence, to cease my Correspondence, not being
 able to say I was pleas’d with that Performance.
 I confess your Account of the Protestants in *Ger-*
many does so far clear the Body of them from the
 Charge of Sedition, and fix it upon a few mad
 Men, or Men that were intolerably aggrieved,
 that it gives no small Advantage to your introdu-
 cing a like Account of the Rebellion in *England* :
 But tho’ it be allow’d you, that State Grievances
 begun the Quarrel here, betwixt the King and his
 Parliament ; yet ’tis demonstrable that the Reli-
 gion of those Times was the very *Soul* of that
 War. What I call Religion, was indeed some-
 thing so wild and whimsical, that it deserves a quite

* *Crudelem Medicum, intemperans æger facit.*

contrary Name. He that will pretend to justify the Puritans *then*, is to me as much out of the way as he that professes himself a Disciple of Dr. *Sacheverell* now. But when I say Religion (such as it was) was the Soul of that War, I mean that it was this which inspir'd and acted the Promoters of it. And I will maintain it, that a *Pretence of Religion* was the greatest Grievance of those Times.

However I take this Opportunity to tell you, that had I seen your *Supplement* at the same time I read your Paper, I should have been more easy with you: But I have not yet been able to procure one of them by it self, to make that Paper complete. Could I have had that Supplement alone, I would have taken care to spread a Number of them in several Parts of the Country: For the other Part I have told you my Thoughts.

Your every Paper since has so fully discovered your Character and Principles, that he must be a Fool who does not see you are a Fanatick: And after that, he must be a greater Fool that will be led by any of your Sentiments. Your last Paper is nonsensically unseasonable, to talk of taking off the Test, the Occasional Conformity, and Schism-Acts, at a Time when the very Jealousy of such a thing was enough to have clogg'd the Proceedings of the Parliament in the Repealing of the Act for Triennial Parliaments; had your Suggestions been considerable enough to be regarded.

I am told, that in your Club you have two Members of Parliament, whose Designs no doubt are wholly in with you; but they deceive both themselves and the rest of you, if they or any of you imagine, the *Presbyterians* shall meet with so much Regard. Your pretending that these People have given up the Thoughts of a National Church in their Way, is intelligible enough: They have

have done so at present, because they cannot help themselves; but should they ever get Power again, the *North Britains* would soon teach 'em better Things.

To be plain with you, I have a Friend that will not believe the Person who draws up your Paper is a *Presbyterian*, whatever the rest of you may be: For he says he knows some of the most considerable, and he is sure there is not one of them that is so well acquainted with the Use of a Pen, as the Compiler of your Paper evidently is.

Prithee, Good Occasional Friend, do not waste thy Genius and Sense in attempting to serve such a Cause. If thou hast nothing else to do but to scribble, hire thy self out to some Statesman, by whom thou may'st promise thy self something worth thy Pains. Or if you are above that, choose a Set of Men of equal Sense and Furniture with your self, and you may soon raise a Reputation. But if you think to serve the Dissenters, you are neither like to get Money nor Fame in the way of a Writer.

In short, if you go on at the rate of your last, I shall read your Paper only as I do the *Post-Boy* and the *Weekly Remarks*; judging from you what are the Designs and Aims of the *Presbyterians*, as I do from them what is hatching among the *Papists* and *Jacobites*. And I do not in this speak only for my self, but for all those to whom this Name will agree.

Philo-Legum-Anglia.

April 30. 1716.

THIS Gentleman seems not to have rightly considered the Paper he censures; which does not deny that Religion was concern'd in the
Civil

Civil War (or if he pleases the *very Soul* of it) after some time ; but that it was not the *first Occasion* of it. He is also very much misled in his Informations concerning the Author of this Paper. And to let him see how unfair he is, in concluding from any thing I have writ, that I am a *Presbyterian* ; I shall here insert a Letter from one of that Character, who he will find is as little pleas'd with me as himself, and whose Letter had never been printed by me, had not he thus provok'd me to it.

To the Author of the Occasional Paper.

S I R,

I Thank you for the Monthly Entertainment of your Papers ; but must acknowledge my self one of those that want you to *speak out* more plainly upon several things which you have hinted at. Some People imagine you are a *Dissenter* ; but really if you are so, you are a *sneaking* one, to speak of 'em as you have done. And if you are of the Party call'd *Low Church*, methinks you need not be either asham'd or afraid to appear a downright Advocate for those, who have maintain'd such a steady Regard to your Interests, even under the greatest Discouragements. If you are in Sincerity what you profess to be, in the *Advertisement* of your first Papers, you cannot avoid drawing Consequences from many things you have advanc'd, which will be supported by none but Dissenters. For tho' the *Free-Thinkers* (as the Men of no Religion affect to call themselves) may fall in with you in some Things ; and tho' in other Things you may talk in the same Strain with those who are
now

now leaving the common Faith of Christians, and seeking to propagate their particular Opinions; yet, I will venture to say, that none will so thoroughly or heartily follow you in those large and generous Sentiments, for which you seem to have a Fondness, as the leading Party of the Dissenters would do.

Prove your self then, the *unprejudiced, disinterested Man* you pretend to be, in daring to be just and grateful to a Body of Men, who have done more for the Good of their Country, perhaps, than any Set of People ever did, under such Treatment as they have met with. Many of them have been turn'd out of those Places, which they were imploy'd in so long, as to be incapable of turning themselves to any thing else for the Support of themselves and Families. They have been driven from the Universities, and from many Advantages as to Learning; and then that is made a Reason for despising them; tho' many of 'em thro' Industry, and the Blessing of GOD, are as considerable as those who have had their Education at *Oxford* or *Cambridge*.

They have been made incapable of serving the Publick in Corporations, Commissions of Peace, &c. and then are represented as a People that are insignificant, and of little Importance to the Government. But we know the Character, and the End too, of those, who when the Straw was taken away, yet requir'd the Tale of Bricks, as when it was allow'd.

And yet notwithstanding these Discouragements, together with the Insults and Abuses, that a Popish, or Popishly affected, Rabble, have every where been spirited up to throw upon them; they have faithfully adher'd to the Interest of the *House of Hanover*, and the moderate Church-Party. He must be wilfully blind, that does not
see

see how much the late Ministry labour'd to get the *Dissenters* out of their Way: Being sensible, that they could not so effectually carry on their Designs, whilst a *Dissenter* had any Interest left in his Country. And 'tis demonstrable, that the Integrity of the *Dissenters*, and their prevailing Concern for the *Protestant* Religion, has had that Effect upon Multitudes that were ready to have joyn'd the lately suppress'd Rebels; that they durst not do what otherwise they would have done, for fear of such Men (even where they were fewest) being Spies upon them.

For this Reason, many of 'em were wretchedly abused in their Persons; others suffered in their Goods; they were threatned up and down, that their Throats should be cut; in short, Matters were come to that pass, that no Methods would have been stuck at to get them out of the Way. They knew all this, and they knew how to value their Safety and Interest, and Birthrights, as well as others; and yet they hazarded all to serve those — who now are ashamed to say or do a kind Thing for them.

Sir! If you dare publish the Thoughts of a thorough *Dissenter*, you should tell them who are in Power, of some of their publick Speeches, and their often declared Sentiments, which it is now expected should direct their Conduct. You should tell 'em, what the Religion of Christians and *Protestants* demands from them; and tell 'em, that their Credit for the Future with some of their best Friends depends upon what they now do. Nay, you may tell 'em, their Enemies expect they should show a Concern for a Set of Men that have been so closely attach'd to them. For it must be acknowledg'd, that the *Tories* are always so generous, as to take care of their own Friends, tho' sometimes it be to their

own Disadvantage; as 'tis manifest their incorporating with the *Papists* has now been. And withal, I would tell some present Ministers of State, That they will find it a very different Thing to have a Divine Providence, and a number of Men set against them, for their Injustice and Ingratitude; to what their present Case is, The having a Company of Rebels to Religion, and their Country, only, rising up against them.

I know the common Way of putting by all this, is to tell us, that it is not yet a Time to show any Favour to the *Dissenters*; which some interpret, that it is not yet a matter of *Necessity*; and 'till it is so, it will not be a Time to be *just* and *grateful*. For if they should suggest, that they are not now *able* to do any Thing for us, I would gladly know, when they propose to be better able? If their Strength and Power to accomplish what They and all honest Men profess to wish for, be now thought insufficient; what is it like to be, when all those Measures are pursued that must lessen the Number, and weaken the Force and Interest, of those that would now hazard their All, to put Matters upon a better foot? And how will those Men answer it, I do not say to Almighty God, but even to themselves and to Posterity; that are now the Occasions or Instruments of destroying those small Remains of Sincerity and Honesty, that are left among us? If our present Physicians should be so devoted to their own particular Humours, or Prescriptions, as to differ with one another, whilst the Patient languishes under their Hands; we are sure of this, that tho' *one* may possibly secure a Point of *Honour*, and *another* may multiply his *Fees*, yet the poor Patient after all his Expectation, and the spending of his Substance, is left at last to expire and perish. 1

I know 'tis often a Time for GOD to appear, when his Interest is sunk to the *lowest*; but that is not a Time for *human Politicks* to own a People in. If ever a restless Night, or an uneasie Mind (like that of *Ahasuerus*) should be appointed to our Prince, and he should enquire *what has been done* for those that have been faithful to him, when others rebell'd against him; and it should be answered, *nothing is done for them*; then perhaps some Regard may be shewn to 'em: But otherwise, if such a Juncture as this be let slip; I shall conclude, that those who wait for a more *convenient Season*, intend it in the Sense that *Felix* did, when after two Years conversing with St. Paul, He yet left him bound.

This Sir! Is the manner in which a *Dissenter* would write upon the present State of Affairs: And this is what a Moderate Churchman would not think unworthy his Notice. But if you have not a Heart to publish any thing of this Nature from your own Observation and Sense of Things; let this be inserted, as from one that glories, even in the present Reproaches and Afflictions of a People, that deserve better Treatment.

A. B.

To the Author of the Occasional-Paper.

SIR!

April 25. 1716.

YOU are a *Coxcomb*, to pretend to write of the Danger of the Church, as you have done. A *Presbyterian Rogue*, I'll warrant you. If such Papers as yours gain Acceptance in the World, the Church is like to be in a fine Condition.

tion. A Company of Blood-Hounds are hunting it down one while, and a Company of whiffling City Beadles another; but Defiance to you all.

The Danger of the Church, you say, rose in Proportion to the Success of our Arms. And so it did for all your Tittle Tattle, as long as Men were employed in all publick Affairs, who were resolved to make Use of their Successes only to carry on their own Schemes; that is, to carry us all to the D—l, where we are now a going. You are a Booby to talk of the Church of *England*, falling in with the *Gallican* Church; when 'tis well known, the greatest Advances would have been on the Part of the *French*, and that even upon their own Proposals; who would gladly enough embrace the Reformation, many of them, after the *English* Episcopal Model: But are never like to do it upon *Dutch*, or *Geneva* Principles, or upon any such *Fanatical* ones as Yours. But now to overthrow all such Measures, and let in the blessed Crew of *Fanaticks* to Power and Places, is the way to put the Church out of Danger, *risum teneatis amici*.

Hark you Sir! If you'll come and drink a Bottle of Wine, on a *Tuesday*, or *Wednesday* Night, at * I'll undertake you shall soon be taught better Things. But if you don't mend your Manners, I'll get your Paper treated as it deserves. And if ever I get acquainted with you Personally, I shall tell you one Thing, that has rais'd my Spleen in what I hear of you, that I will not give you the Satisfaction of declaring at present.

* I forbear to mention the Place, lest my Correspondent should say, I set him in the Light, whilst I keep in the dark my self.

THis Letter Writer seems to be so intirely possess'd with the *Frenzy* of the *Times*, that He is not capable of being answered: And if the Company he invites me to, are like himself, I should sooner expect to have my Brains knock'd out, than increas'd, by venturing amongst them. I am not Coxcomb enough to be tempted, by the Pretence of being acquainted with a *Secret*, to have any thing further to do with this self-valuing Bully.

Perhaps it will sufficiently mortify Him, I am sure it has been a sufficient Encouragement to my Self under his ill Treatment, to read such a Letter as the next is, which I received soon after that ill-favour'd one.

To the Author of the Occasional Paper.

S I R,

I Have found so great a Satisfaction in reading the several *Occasional Papers*, that I could not resist the Impressions of Gratitude, and the strong Inclination of my own Mind, to express in this Way my great Respect to the *unknown Author*. Nor do I reckon myself chargeable with ignorant Devotion, or offering Incense to the Altar of an Idol; since you are so well known by your Works, tho' your Person lie concealed: And are distinguished from common Writers by the many Marks of sound Sense and good Temper, which runs through the whole.

I confess I received the Paper with the *Prejudice of Favour*, from the Title it bore; which seemed to design an Imitation of one writ in the Year 1697. with an excellent View, and in a Masterly Way:

Way : And I have not yet found my self mistaken or disappointed in the Expectation and Opinion I had conceived.

I own my self an Admirer of the Design and Performance. The Design appears excellent and generous ; to serve the Interests of Truth where ever 'tis ; to promote the Welfare of the present Government, by removing unreasonable Prejudices against it, and representing Obligations of Duty and Interest we are under to it ; enlarging the Views and Prospects of Men, and encouraging mutual Love and Civil Peace.

It has struck me with a particular Pleasure to find a *Tenderness* to the Interests of All, even the Mistaken and Unhappy ; a Concern for injured Innocence and the weaker Side, when run down and exposed. For tho' I am a zealous Lover of the *English* Constitution, and have all the Opinion of the Church as well as State, which any Man can reasonably desire ; yet I never understood the Reason of ignorant *Misrepresentation*, or unkind *Severity* ; and have always scorned the mean Baseness of Calumny or Cruelty ; trampling and insulting the Injured or Mistaken ; or doing any thing unjust or unkind to others who differ from us. And I am of Opinion, that this is the Way to gain others over to better Sentiments, as well as most effectually to recommend our selves.

The Performance is regular and strong, and has to me, some Marks of the best Writers. The Matter is always weighty and various, well laboured and wrought up ; the Sense and Thoughts are found and correct ; the Expression proper and just, with a due Mixture of Elegance and lively Imagination. I own I have not seen Reason, by the closest Attention and diligent Review, to differ from you, in the Main of the Argument, or any thing of moment, in any one of your Papers.

I should

I should not wonder, and I hope, Sir, you will not do so, if for these very Reasons some should be dissatisfied, or less pleased with it : If the narrow Bigot, the angry Zealot, the Men of Interest and Party, of high Conceit and little Views, should find Matter of Offence. When Men are fixed and confined in their present Sentiment of Things, they are naturally led to resent or suspect, if every thing they hold is not admired, or any thing they dislike, approved ; like Men in an enchanted Circle, who dare not stir themselves, nor suffer any Body else to stir, about them. But this is the Fault of Human Nature, and the Fate of the best Writings in the World. And it ought to be considered, that tho' the Angry and Envious will join together to blast and damn the best Designs ; yet the Wise and Impartial will always approve and commend : And I am able to assure you of the concurring Testimony of Persons of Distinction for Character and Capacity, equal at least to the best of those who may censure or dislike it.

I had long the Curiosity to inform my self who you were, and what Character you bore, and made some proper Enquiries after it ; but as I allow you have a Right to your own Name, and are the proper Judge of the Reasons of concealing it ; so I quickly checkt the fond Desire, when I came to understand, you had a fixed Resolution never to be known, and would disappear as soon as you perceiv'd you became visible ; esteeming it a rash Presumption to break in upon your beloved Retirement, and gratify a private Satisfaction, at so great an Expence of the publick Good. Tho' I can't but think it a Mark of a generous Mind, as well as a modest Temper, to be willing to serve the Publick, while you your self lie in secret ; to be satisfied with the Divine Pleasure of doing others good, without Advantage to your self, and refuse
the

the Fame which lesser Writers so ambitiously affect.

And now, Sir, I cannot take leave, without owning the Obligation, which I think the Publick as well as my self, lie under, for so useful an Entertainment; and offering my own humble Opinion and Request, that no Discouragements may prevent the Continuance. I could only wish your Circumstance and Humour would allow more frequent Returns, and thereby repeat the Pleasure and Satisfaction of,

S I R,

Your humble Servant and Admirer,

London, May 12.

1718.

* * * *

ADVERTISEMENT.

Any kind of Letters, Essays, Extracts out of valuable Authors, or Intelligence of any Affairs which may serve the first declared Intention of this Paper, will be thankfully received, if directed to the Author of the Occasional Paper, to be left at North's Coffee-house, King-street, near Guildhall, London, post-paid.

Lately Published,

The Occasional Paper, Number VII. The Nature and Obligation of Oaths.

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

NUMB. IX.

OF
CENSURE.
AN
ESSAY.

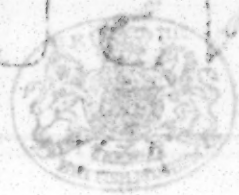
LONDON:

Printed for J. HARRISON under the *Royal*
Exchange, and A. DODD without
Temple-bar. 1716.
Price *Three Pence*.

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER

NUMBER I

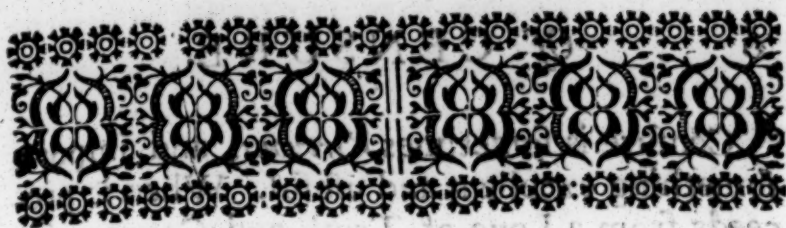
CENTURE



ESSAY

LONDON

Printed by J. H. Johnson, under the
Royal warrant, and A. D. D. D. D.
Tomb-land, 1790.
Price Three Shillings



O F
CENSURE.
A N
E S S A Y.



ENSURE is nothing else but making a *Judgment* of Things, and forming our own Opinion of them according to their respective Nature and critical Difference. 'Tis *Marking* out the Excellence and Defect of any Person or Performance to publick Notice. Such were the antient *Censors* among the *Romans*, who judg'd of the Manners and Behaviour of Men according to the Laws and Customs which were settled and obtained. It may be considered either as Virtuous or Vicious, according to the Judgment which is made, or the Temper of Mind in him who makes it.

Censure

Censure is sometimes *Virtuous*, and imports something excellent and useful. When it proceeds from a Love of Truth and Concern for the Interests of Mankind, and is under the Direction of Wisdom and a Spirit of Meekness, it is so far from being culpable, that it must be owned, he is a great and brave Man, who dare undertake it. 'Tis truly heroick for a Man to expose himself to serve the Publick; to stand the Shot of Rage and Malice and Envy, assisted with Wit, and supported by Power, and at the same time backed with Numbers; for the sake of Truth and Virtue. If in the writing a Poem, a Man ought, according to *Horace*, to consider his Abilities; *Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusant*: I am sure a Man ought to weigh the Matter very carefully, when he sets up for a Cenfor. So many natural Talents, so many moral Virtues; so much Application, Exactness, and Experience is requisite; as is sufficient to deter a Man from the Attempt: And I believe the World has produced more fit for the *Imperial Purple*, than to be *Cato's* Successors. For however Men naturally run into Censure, and every body thinks himself qualified, there are very few sufficiently capable, or disposed aright:

When 'tis managed with Judgment and Humanity, 'tis of great Service to the World: It serves to correct a vain Temper, and excite a heavy one; to lay the Reins upon an eager and forward Spirit, and give Steadiness and Caution to a wavering and wandering Mind.

It

It serves many times to prevent unfurnished Men from unequal Attempts, to the Prejudice of the Publick; and very much helps to secure the right Use of their Talents, where any are duly qualified for publick Service. It keeps the World not a little in awe: *Great Men*, and those who govern others, are very much govern'd by others in this. The *Rabble* themselves are afraid of one anothers ill Tongues, and Reproach; perhaps when they have suppressed the Fear of every thing else. The Honesty of many a Dealer; the good Behaviour of many People in publick Professions; the Impartiality of some Judges; the Sincerity of Ministers of State; perhaps the Virtue of some few Ladies, may be not a little beholden to the Awe, in which they stand, of malicious Tongues.

There are some things, in which Censure should be wholly spared; and 'tis an Argument of very ill Breeding, very little Sense, and no Religion, to allow it in our selves, or be pleased with it in others. When Persons labour under natural and unavoidable *Infirmities* and Blemishes: Some for the sake of their Countenances; others for the Shape of their Bodies; many from an Infirmary in Speech; are very great Sufferers this Way, and furnish Matter for ill-plac'd Censure and ill-natured Diverfion. If Men have given proof of sincere *Repentance* of any Fault, there Censure is peculiarly out of place, and exceeding barbarous. Or when things are barely Matter of *Suspicion*. A bare Suspicion is like the harmless Buz of a Bee about our Ears; but let Cen-

Censure enlarge upon it, and it gives it a Sting, which shall sometimes pierce very deep, before one has Power or Notice to guard against it.

It may be considered especially, as it relates to Statesmen and Magistrates; to Men of publick Characters, as Divines, Lawyers, &c. to Authors; to the several Professions in Religion; to private Persons, and common Conversation.

Censure of *Magistrates* should be upon Things apparent, and where Facts may be compared together; not for a single Action, of which we cannot know the Reason or Design. It should be always with Decency and Respect, not to raise Hatred or Contempt of their Persons or Office. Greater Liberty may be allowed, when they plainly appear to be ill Men, and Enemies of their Country, wholly careless of its Interests, or designing its Ruin. This Kind of Censure should not run into all Conversation neither; but be confined to those who are like to make a good Use of it themselves, or help us in our Informations and Apprehensions of Things. Indeed our Rulers stand upon higher Ground, like a General upon an Eminence, who sees an Advantage against the Enemy at a distance, which the Army in a lower Vale is not able to discern: And yet, as every private Man is a Member of the Body, and his Interest involved in the publick Safety; so every Man, no doubt, has a Right to judge of the Conduct of publick Affairs; if he is able to judge
aright

aright about them, and preserve a Decorum and Temper of Mind ; if he has Capacity and Opportunity sufficient to make a Judgment, or Prospect of being useful, and contributing to the publick Good. Tho' *Lesley* says somewhere, the *Beasts* of the People will, and shall, and must be *rid* ; yet let me tell that Author, *The Ox knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Master's Crib, the Stork and the Crane their appointed Season, &c.* and no great Names, or Pretence of Authority, can reasonably expect the Meanest of the Species should compliment them to the Resignation of common Sense and certain Interest.

Nothing is more common than the Censure of those who *speak* in publick. In this Case, Mens *Wisdom* and Furniture is made the Subject of Censure ; or their *Sincerity* and Honesty ; sometimes their *Eloquence* and Aptness to gain their Ends ; or else the *Voice*, Air, Gesture, and those things which fall under the Notice of the Eye. For Wisdom and Furniture, 'tis certain some Men seem to have more than they really have ; and others less. He who censures with Judgment, will take care not to be hasty in charging any Man with *Folly* ; because 'tis what no Man can bear, and weakens his Interest and Credit with others. Men have generally a better Opinion of their Understandings than of any thing else, and more sensibly feel the Inconvenience of other Peoples Opinion to their Disadvantage in that Respect. As to Sincerity and Honesty ; some have the Art to gain a Belief beyond others, who yet have as much or more Sincerity than

B

them-

themselves. But here especially, he who censures wisely, will do it cautiously ; because, if he charge a Man with Falshood, he makes him a *Knave* ; and that is an Imputation much worse in Religion, than that of Folly. Eloquence, Voice and Gesture, &c. the exact Manner in all Points are hardly settled among the Criticks themselves, and the Fancies and Tempers of Men are so very various, that 'tis seldom three Men agree together in the same Censure of any thing. What is most natural and easy, will always be most becoming and agreeable. In all these Cases we should be sparing of Censure ; for otherwise a Man may be render'd unuseful, who has Talents for considerable Service. And yet the Apprehension of Criticism is a good Caution to an Author, that Carelessness or Conceit may not spoil his Performance.

'Tis the Observation of a late ingenious * Writer, that the Cause and Interest of the Criticks is the same with that of Wit, Learning and good Sense. When such a Race of Men is once risen, 'tis no longer possible to impose on Mankind by what is specious and pretending : They are ready to appear and vindicate the Truth and Justice of their Art, by revealing hidden Beauties, which lie in the Works of just Performers ; and expose the weak Side, false Ornaments and affected Graces of meer Pretenders. This Observation is well supported by History and Experience. It was this Art, and the great Men who excelled in

* *Advice to an Author.*

OF CENSURE.

11

it, which gradually refined the Taste, as well as the Manners of *Greece* and *Rome* ; and from Beginnings rude and barbarous enough, made them the most polished Nation in the World, and the Standard of Politeness to after Ages. True Criticism was intended to distinguish genuine Writings from spurious and uncertain ones, and point out the true Beauties and Excellencies, or the real Faults and Defects ; to serve and illustrate antient and good Authors, not to darken and disparage them. It carried in it the Notion of impartial and candid Judgment of Things, not of Severity and Ill-Nature.

Censure, as to the several *Professions* of Religion, is mightily in fashion in the present Age. Men are commonly zealous for the Party they espouse, and ready to throw Contempt and Reproach upon others, without being duly inform'd, or rightly disposed to form a Judgment of Things. And yet Censure here might be made useful, if it were managed with Judgment and Temper, with Discretion and Charity ; and we did not sink one another to Hell for Diversity of Sentiment, and make those who differ from us, either *Fools*, who have nothing worth considering to say for themselves ; or *Knaves*, who only act a Part under the Mask of Religion, or serve a worldly Interest and Design. If we judged of Men by the real Moments of Things, and according to the Evidence, which plainly appears of their Wisdom, Sincerity, and the like.

In the Censure of *private* Persons, and in common Conversation, at the Tea-Table, and over a Glass of Wine; we should be careful to avoid Backbiting, Falshood, and Reflection on the Absent; and all Rudeness, Impertinence and Provocation of them who are present. There are some special Occasions of Censure; when a Man thrives mightily, and grows rich of a sudden; when he is put up for any publick Office and Imployment; when he undertakes any thing new, or pretends to advance any Project; when he meets with any sudden and grievous Calamity; these Things naturally draw the Observation of the World, and raise many Speculations about them: They place them more in view, and make them the more remarkable.

It must be own'd, that by judicious and critical *Observation* of Men and Manners, of Polity and Custom, of the Designs, Actions and Management of all sorts of Persons; Men come to true Wisdom and useful Experience. This forms *Criticks* of the higher Rank, enables to judge what is just, useful and perfect; to distinguish what is false, pernicious and imperfect in all the Actions and Characters of Men, as well in Speech as Writing. And why should that, which alone forms a Man, in his private Capacity, to Judgment, good Sense and Wisdom, be kept a Secret to himself, and thought improper for general Service? When to communicate such Observations to the World, may put the less thinking Part of Mankind upon like Reflections, may help them

them to form a true Judgment, and so contribute to the Service of Truth, the Dignity of Human Nature, the Happiness of Civil Society, and the general Politeness of Life.

But then 'tis necessary such a Judgment should be entirely *free*, if we expect any good Success from it. What is false and mistaken in Life and Manners, in Polity and Arts, will never be rectified by Ignorance and Prejudice; and every thing which is exempt from the Censure of impartial Judgment, has only the Advantage of a *privileged Barbarity*. Nor can I see what Hurt lies in the Allowance and Patronage of such free Censure, as can never be a Prejudice to Men and their Actions, which are supported by real Worth. Whatsoever they do well, is by the free Judgment they make themselves of their own Actions; and surely it can be no Harm to them to have therein the Judgment and Assistance of others, who may observe what they overlook, and will not judge with that Partiality and Affection, which is natural in a Man's own Actions and Performances. They may themselves profit by the Remarks of a greater Genius than their own; and by the Aid of concurring Criticks, bring in a short time to Perfection, what might require an Age to perfect by successive Observation and Criticism.

'Tis true, were false and injudicious Censure to be generally received and pass current, it might have bad Effects; discourage the best Men and best Actions, and give Credit and Authority to false Actions and vicious
Man-

Manners. But were the Censure of all freely admitted, the Wise and Knowing would soon distinguish themselves from the Weak and Injudicious. False Criticism and ill managed Censure would soon be destroyed and put out of countenance by something true and better managed in its Kind. And free Judgment, which censures what is false in the Manners and Actions of all Men, would reform the Criticks themselves; it would keep Censure within the Bounds of useful Liberty, and prevent its growing criminally licentious. A petulant Wit, a malicious Scandal, an ill-mannered Satyr, would soon be shewn contrary both to Art and Decency. *Horace* has observed how this followed just Criticism on the Licentiousness of the antient *Greek* and *Roman* Comedy.

———*Doluerè cruento*
Dente laceffiti. Fuit intactis quoque cura
Conditione super communi, quin etiam lex,
Penaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quenquam
Describi———

Horat. Epist. Lib. 2. Ep. 1.

Thus Censure corrected the Vice and ill Manners of Poetry; which would be discountenanced in all other Things, where a free Judgment was allowed to reign. This would soon force Censure it self to Manners and Politeness, as well as Truth, Justice, and Usefulness.

'Tis Time now to consider Censure as *vicious* and faulty. So it always is, when we make a wrong Judgment, or judge aright with
an

an evil Mind. If it proceed from Pride and Ill-nature; if 'tis designed to gratify any criminal Passion, or advance any mean Design; if it is the Production of Ignorance, and attended with Rashness and Prejudice, it degenerates into rank errant Scandal. This Humour has strongly prevailed of late Years; we have almost as many Censors as Men; nay even as Boys and Women, and are almost become *Populus Censorum*. We are so much improved this Way, since a certain *Seer* opened the Eyes of the Nation, that Boys pretend to censure Privy Counsellors; and Women, Generals of an Army; Mobs judge of Civil Rights, and Tradesmen dive into the Mysteries of State.

Censure is chiefly faulty in the *Manner*, in which 'tis done, or the *Temper* and Design of him who does it. Some Men can censure with their *Eyes*, and put on such eager and jealous Looks, when they converse with you, as if they would have you imagine they can pierce into your Thoughts and Heart: And when they speak of such as are absent, their supercilious Air, and other Gestures, is sufficient to shew their Opinion of them. But Censure is chiefly considerable in the *Tongue* and *Pen*, two Instruments of great Mischief in the World. There are several Ways of doing it with the *Tongue*, besides the plain and full Expression of ones Thoughts. A Man declines appearing the Author of it himself, by repeating the Sense of others, and speaking of Things, as if they were what *the World says*. He begins a Sentence, and breaks off in the
Middle;

Middle, to raise the Censure of those he talks to, and conceal his own. The Scandal is artfully couch'd under the Bait of a Question; or That in a Narrative is left to the last, as a Thing almost forgot, which yet the Relater would have most taken notice of. A Man is reflected on by a Side Wind; he did not do this or that himself, but was over-reached, or over-ruled, by the Cunning or Authority of others. Sometimes by feigned and awkward Commendation, a Man's real Faults are pointed out and exposed: Or by a pat Story, which hath some Circumstances fit to reach the Person one has a Mind to censure, of which the Company with Ease make the Application.

The *Pen* is a dangerous Weapon, and often pierces deeper than a Sword, and wounds like a poisonous Dart. Here Censure is always vicious, when Men write out of Character, and don't duly attend to their proper Province. When a Man writes not with Truth or Honesty, as an *Historian* or Relater of Things; or accurately and judiciously, as a *Critick*; or with Conviction and *Pathos*, as an *Orator*, striking the Passions, and perswading the Mind; without Severity as a *Satyrift*, or Humour as a *Comedian*; or Entertainment and Instruction, in the mixed Way, as the *Writers of Essays*.

But the greatest Fault is in the Temper of the Mind, and various Disorders of the Judgment or Passions. When People set up for Censurers out of their proper Sphere, they expose at once their Ignorance, Ill-nature, and

and Pragmaticalness ; or where the Matter is above their Reach. There is nothing more common than for People of weak Minds, and narrow Education, and little Acquaintance with the World, to be very smart upon all the Proceedings of their Governours ; tho' they themselves are no more qualified to determine the Matter, than *Sancho Pancha* was to govern his Island. Others set up for Judges of learned Performances, who are not able to distinguish between the Beauties and Faults, and whose Commendation would be a Disgrace to a Work. Such a Man is a mean *Preacher*, a poor *Lawyer*, a bad *Physician*, when the Judge scarce understands a Principle of either Science ; and only takes up his Censure from others, or founds it upon such little Things, as will neither prove a Man's Worth nor Defect in his Profession. 'Tis equally absurd to condemn Persons or Actions, of which we have not Opportunity to be duly informed ; to arraign Men with whom we have no Acquaintance ; to cry down whole Parties, while we are Strangers to their Principles and Practices ; or censure Actions, when we are not apprized of the Reason of them, and all the Circumstances of the Case. And suppose we have happen'd upon Light for our Information, tho' this will justify us in a private Judgment, according to the Evidence we discern ; yet what Business have we to proclaim our Reflections, while those on whom they are made are not under our Cognizance, and we can serve no good End for the Benefit of the Publick, or any private Man, by giving our Verdict. This is going out of our Province,

C

vince, and can be ascrib'd to nothing better than a meddling Humour, or a peevish Temper, or an uncharitable Pleasure in other Peoples Faults.

To throw out Reflections at *Random*, is a very unjust and mischievous Practice. To spread disadvantageous Stories upon uncertain Reports without Examination; to condemn an Author without enquiring into his true Meaning; to cast an Odium upon a Government, or blast a Reputation, upon Supposition of what may be, instead of Evidence of Fact; to give one self Liberty to say any thing likely to make a bad Impression, without regarding the Consequences, or considering the irreparable Damage which may ensue. This is, to use a sacred Expression, *casting Firebrands, Arrows and Death, and saying, Am I not in sport.*

But suppose there is a real Foundation for Dislike and Censure, should it be carried *farther* than there is Reason to support it? 'Tis an extravagant Folly to condemn Persons or Things in the gross. If a Man commits a Fault, he shall hear that aggravated and perpetually remembred, while a thousand laudable Actions are entirely forgot. A few Mistakes of a Government shall be tossed about by every insolent Tongue; and the greatest Services to a Community pass for nothing: An excellent Author be run down for the sake of some small Mistake, or inconsiderate Passage! and a Man be rallied out of a Capacity
of

of Service, who is eminently furnished for it, because of one wrong Step. The Dignity of a Character, and the most conspicuous Integrity of Life ; distinguishing Abilities, and an obvious Tendency and Design for the greatest Service, shall not secure from the poisonous Breath of Censure. Whereas we ought to judge of any private Man by the main Tenour of his Conversation ; and of an Administration, by its general Tendency to the publick Good. A Man in any Profession or Station should be esteem'd according to his Fitness and Application to his proper Business ; and any Performance deserves Regard, when some valuable End is designed in it, and that Design is promoted by it. To single out some little Exceptions to sully the Lustre of an Excellent Person, or blemish a wise Constitution, or a good Performance ; is well said by a Great Man to be, as if, in a Body admirably handsome, we should overlook the curious Harmony, delicate Complexion, and good Features, which make the whole a lovely Spectacle, and single out an Eye or a Nose, which are not so exactly regular, to carp at.

Others are equally injurious, who *involve* in their Censure the Innocent with the Guilty. They arraign a whole Administration as corrupt, for the sake of an ill Man here and there in it, which is unavoidable in any Government. A whole Party of Men, and whole religious Profession, must suffer in the Odium for the Crime of a *False Brother*. The Folly and Knavery of a Divine or Lawyer shall be

imputed to the whole Order; and the most useful Professions be insolently treated for the Madness of a few that belong to them. When a Man discovers himself to be a *Villain*, his innocent Friends and Acquaintance, who detest his Crimes, shall be reflected on as Accomplices.

To be more *severe* in censuring of particular Faults, than the Nature of the thing requires, can answer no good Purpose. An honest Man is sometimes loaded with *Invectives* for such Things as cannot justly be called criminal; it may be for that which is really his Commendation; because the Censurer is of another Mind. An innocent Liberty shall be clamoured at, as if it were an Inroad upon all Vertue: A blacker Mark be fixed on People, who happen to differ from their Neighbours, in some little Things; than upon those who break thro' all the Bonds of Nature and Christianity. These disproportionate Censures are the Result of intolerable Bigotry, or Devilish Malice. Charity would teach us not to despise an honest Man for that which is a needless Scruple, nor to condemn others with Severity, for things we may scruple our selves, but cannot positively prove to be Faults.

We should not be *partial* in our Censures, and make that pass for a Crime in one, which is made light of in another. Thus that shall be made a Fault in one Ministry and Administration, which was approved and applauded in a former: Or some extraordinary Methods, which

which plainly proceed from the Necessity of the Case, and are intended to serve the Publick Good, shall invidiously be made parallel with unjustifiable Attempts, without a like Necessity, and with a manifest ill Design. When we condemn a thing in others, while we practice the like our selves; or palliate and excuse our own greater Faults, while we judge with Rigour of others lesser ones, and are quick to spy a *Mote* in another's Eye, when we cannot see a *Beam* in our own.

When our Censures are not from a *Love* of Truth or Virtue, but from *Pique* or Prejudice, from *Envy* or Revenge; when they proceed not from real Apprehensions of any thing amiss, but are made to serve our own Interest; when Men declaim against a Government to rail themselves into Places, and use bold Liberties only to be *taken off*; this (however fashionable and prevailing) is highly vicious and criminal. But we have Reason to hope the Wisdom of our present Governours will in time break the Force of a pernicious Practice, countenanced and strengthened by the Ease and Fear of the former. When a Prince at the Head of Affairs shall propose wise Ends, and pursue steady Measures; whose Soul knows no Fear, as it designs no Wrong; conscious of upright Designs, and unshaken in right Purposes; unmoved by the Insolence of lesser Persons, or Presumption of the Greatest; will quite discountenance the little Arts of Slander and Insinuation; be served by wise and faithful Ministers, and with Decency and Respect:

spect: Then the publick Affairs will prosper, the Honour of the Nation be retrieved and advanced; there will be Scope for *Panegyrick* without *Flattery*; the exactest *Criticism* will be the greatest *Complement*, and all true *Censure* be turned into just *Praise*.

F I N I S.



THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

NUMB. X.

AN
EXPEDIENT
FOR

Peace among all *Protestants*.

In a SECOND LETTER to the
Author of this Paper.
By the same Hand that writ the Letter
publish'd in Number IV.

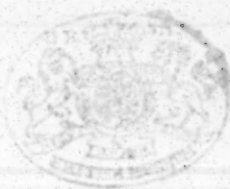
*No Man is bound to obey them (Ceremonies of
Mens Laws, which themselves decree and
ordein) or any other Man's Precept, of what
Dignity or Preheminance soever he be, if the same
do militare contra Deum, & Conscientiam
offendat. Henry VIII's Instructions to Paget,
Hist. Reform. Vol. III. Collections, N^o. 30.*

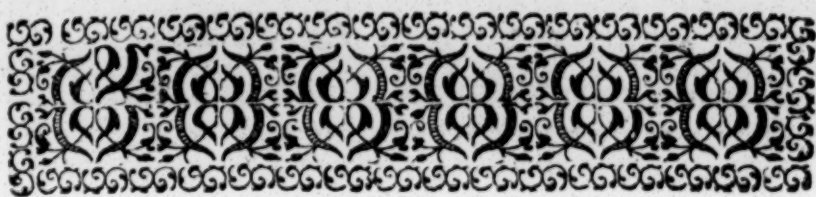
*Every Man's private Conscience is to him the Su-
preme Court for Judgment. Bp. Burnet. ib.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Harrison under the Royal Exchange,
and A. Dodd without Temple-Bar. 1716.

Price 3 d.



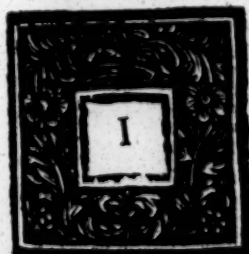


A N
E X P E D I E N T
F O R

Peace among all *Protestants*.

To the Author of the Occasional
Paper.

S I R,



Now make good my Promise; and carry the *Expedient for Peace among all Protestants* into the Church; if you will be so kind to do this second Letter the Honour which you allow'd to the first; in which I consider'd it with reference to the *State*.

What I have to propose will recommend it self from its *Antiquity*, being fetch'd from the earliest Times of Christianity; and will lie in a *little Compass*. It consists only of a few *Canons*, but then they are such as have a *Divine Right* to take place of any that were ever made since,

4 *An EXPEDIENT for Peace*

and carry with them an Authority to set aside any thing that stands in the way of their own Observation. For these Reasons I would flatter my self, that the Cry of the *Church's Danger*, and all the Train of frightful Sounds, that are usually raised against good Designs for the Peace of *our Church* by the Missionaries of *another*, cannot be played against our Proposals, because it were too open an Acknowledgment, that we are not built upon the *Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets*, if the *Canons* of the *Apostles* themselves can harm us, and are not consistent with our Constitution. It would look very odd to go about to alarm People with the sad Consequences that must follow the Revival of the Spirit and Practice of Primitive Christians, and the *Injunctions* of the *Apostles* themselves.

Differences in Judgment, Opinion, and Conscience, every Body is ready to acknowledge unavoidable. So much Juggling has passed in Christendom, that the “ Obscurity of some
“ Questions, the Nicety of some Articles, the
“ Intricacies of some Revelations, the Va-
“ riety of Human Understandings, the Wind-
“ ings of Logick, the Tricks of Adversaries,
“ the Subtlety of Sophisters, the Engage-
“ ments of Education and Personal Affections,
“ the portentous Number of Writers, the
“ Infinity of Authorities, the Vastness of
“ some Arguments, which consist in the Enu-
“ meration of many Particulars, the Uncer-
“ tainty of other Arguments, the several De-
“ grees of Probabilities, the Difficulty and Du-
“ biousness of some Scriptures, the publick Vi-
“ olence done to Authors and Records, the pri-
“ vate Arts and Supplantings, the falsifying and
“ inde-

“ indefatigable Industry of some to abuse all
“ Understandings and all Perswasions into their
“ own Opinions: These, and a Thousand more,
“ even all the Difficulties of Things, all the
“ Weakness of Men, and all the Arts of the
“ Devil, have made it impossible for Men not
“ sometimes to be deceived; and I may add,
“ they have made it as impossible not to differ.

The *first* Differences in Opinion, or in the various Modes of Worship, are *mostly innocent*, because unavoidable; and the Sacred Scripture, which is the *Protestants Religion*, is framed upon that Supposition, that after all it will be so: But the *second* Differences are *criminal*; that is, for Men, as soon as they find they differ from one another, to raise mutual Animosities about those Differences; inflicting Punishments one on another, breaking the Bonds of Charity, hating and denying Communion one to another, and, like *Jew* and *Samaritan*, having *no Dealings one with another*. But why must Contentions about Religion break the Bonds of Civil Society? If you don't worship where we do, and as we do, you shall have no *Water* of our *Well*, you shall have no Share in the common Privileges of the Society! This is *Jew* and *Samaritan*: This is the Temper that once demurr'd to the Gift of a Cup of cold Water to your Saviour. And when is it likely to be otherwise? By being all of one Mind? That's impossible. By professing to be so, whether we are or no? That's abominable: an Expedient from the Devil, the *Father of Lies*. So is the Third Method, of destroying those who differ from us; from him, doubtless, who was a *Murderer from the Beginning*: Who never took more Pleasure in
any

6 *An EXPEDIENT for Peace*

any of the Heathen Altars, than from the Sacrifices that have been made to the Idol *Uniformity*: By which the Votaries of that Idol seem only to mean, that when every Body is of their Mind, and does as they would have them, they will be at Peace with them; that is, when all the Clocks of the Kingdom strike at once, and every Complexion of Face, or Relish of Appetite, is the same. But how then may this Matter be effected? When you can find a Way (says another) to keep out the *Romish Missionaries* from among us, whose Business it is to create Varieties, and Animosities thereupon. They are undone, if we are at Peace, whether it be by *Unity* or *Uniformity*: They know that *Variety* would never hurt us, without *Animosities* upon it. This, I grant, will do something, nay a great deal, and so much the more, as it will dispose toward a Reception of what I have to propose.

Where the Apprehensions of Persons are different in lesser Matters, the *Apostolical Canons* allow each Person to follow the Dictates of his own Conscience, and give admirable Directions how to behave towards others, and brand the contrary Uncharitableness as the worst of Practices, and the most dangerous Error.

As first; Matters of *doubtful Disputation* are expressly forbid to be made the *Terms of Communion*, or the Conditions of receiving or admitting one another as Brethren: *Rom. 14. 1. Him that is weak in the Faith receive you, but not to doubtful Disputations.* One is fond of those ancient Customs he has been brought up in among the *Jews*; another is satisfied there is nothing in them, nor any Obligation lying upon him from them, and therefore asserts his Liberty. *St. Paul* says,

says, let him have it, without Condemning, Censuring, and excluding one another; † *One believeth that he may eat all things, another who is weak in the Faith, he eateth Herbs.* It is observable here, that where we read concerning the weak Brother, ἐσθίει, *he eateth Herbs*, some Copies * read, ἐσθίτω, *let him eat.* And if that be the true Reading, it is an Allowance and Permission for a Man to enjoy his own Judgment in these Cases.

A Second Rule is, not to despise or judge one another upon these Accounts: || *Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not, and let him that eateth not, judge him that eateth;* for two very good Reasons, the one is, because *God hath received him.* The other is, because *he is another Man's Servant*, and not thine: *Who art thou that judgest another Man's Servant? to his own Master he stands or falleth.* These are as good Reasons now, as they were 1700 Years ago: So that the Church cannot act contrary to this Canon, without opposing the Apostle's Authority, and God's own Example, at the same time.

A Third is, that every Man must be *perswaded in his own Mind*, about indifferent Things in Religion, and must act accordingly, whether it be about *keeping of Days*, or *eating of Herbs*: And that we are not to judge or set at nought our Brother, for these, as we shall answer it at the Judgment Seat of Christ, †† *Why dost thou judge thy*

† Rom. xiv. 2.

* Valesii Lectiones ex sedecim MS. V. Wetsf. Test. Gr.

|| Ver. 3.

†† Ver. 10.

Brother, or why dost thou set at nought thy Brother; for we shall all stand before the Judgment Seat of Christ, where every one must give an Account of himself unto God——Let us not therefore judge one another. His own Mind and Judgment must be a Rule to him, and not thine; and to God is he accountable in these things, and not to thee.

A Fourth is, that *No Man lay a stumbling Block, or an Occasion to fall, in his Brother's Way,* † “Instead of judging and censuring for Differences of Opinion, I forbid any Man, and any Church, to draw their Brethren to act with a *Doubting Conscience*, much less with a *Damning one*; the former being the Case of some, and the latter of others: *Let no Man lay a stumbling Block. No Man*, let his Office be what it will, nor any Number of Men together, thus treat their Brethren: * *But if thy Brother be grieved with thy Meat, now walkest thou not charitably. If my acting to my Brother's Grief be walking not charitably, how much more uncharitable is the forcing him to act to his own Grief, by acting with a Doubting or a Damning Conscience?*

A Fifth Canon is, that no Religion must be placed in Things wherein it is declared not to consist: || *For the Kingdom of God is not Meat and Drink, but Righteousness, and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost. For he that in these things serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of Men.* They who have argued for the Power of Imposing, from the Gospel State being called a *Kingdom*, would do well to con-

† Ver. 13.

* Ver. 15.

|| Ver. 17.

sider, that the imposing *Meats and Drinks*, the *indifferent Things*, is here flatly denied to be any Part of the Object of that Power. And yet Men will place Religion where God declares there is none, and excommunicate and reject for want of that, without which God declares a Man *acceptable to himself*, and expects that he should be *approved of Men*.

A Sixth is, that it is the Duty of all Men, of all Churches, of all Orders of Men, to *follow the Things that make for Peace*, according to these Canons or Rules of acting: * *Let us therefore follow the Things that make for Peace, and Things whereby we may edify one another. For Meat (for the Use of indifferent Things) destroy not the Work of God: All Things are pure, but it is evil for that Man who eateth with Offence. It is good neither to eat Flesh nor drink Wine, nor any thing whereby my Brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak.* With what Face can any one say, whatsoever is not forbidden, is lawful to be imposed? or whatsoever is indifferent to me, may be imposed upon another? upon the *Damning* or the *Doubting* Conscience? when the doing so is here forbidden, and consequently not lawful to *stumble*, to *offend*, or *make weak*. It's a plain Command to forego our own Liberty, rather than impose upon another's: For it is much easier and safer for any Man, or any Church, to let alone what they think they may do: much easier and safer yet, not to force others to do, what others can't do, but with a *Doubting* or a *Damning* Conscience. There's no great Hard-

* Ver. 19, 20, 21.

ship in letting it alone, or if that should be thought an Imposition it self, I am sure there is none in suffering another to let it alone. This is further enforced from Chap. 15. 1. *We that are strong ought to bear the Infirmities of the weak, and not to please our selves* : Not drive all things along with our own Judgments, without any Regard to others. No, instead of that, *Let every one of us please his Neighbour for his Good to Edification* : For even Christ pleased not himself*. The Authority of these *Canons* must take place with all who own the Divinity of these Writings. They are Rules of Conduct for Church Affairs, as truly as the *Ten Commandments* are for Morality. Every Church that is not constituted upon this Latitude and Temper here enjoined, is *so far* not upon a Scriptural Foundation ; is *so far* unscriptural and *Unapostolical*, as it varies from these Directions ; and more still, if it is opposite to them. It has sometimes been said, that the *Terms of Communion are doubtful, but Obedience to Authority was a Thing beyond all doubt ; and consequently, that which is plain should determine that which was dubious*. But I have felt that Remark recoil upon me, when I have used it, thus : The Terms of Communion and the Power of thus imposing is doubtful ; but it is beyond all doubt, that we must obey that Rule, *Rom. 14. Let no Man lay a Stumbling-block, or an Occasion to fall, before his Brother*. Nothing ought to have been enacted contrary to these Rules : Whatsoever is so, ought to be abolish'd. 'Tis a Jest to erect Churches and set up Statues in Honour of

* Ver. 2, 3.

St. Paul, and at the same time trample upon his Authority, and make so great a Part of the Bible obsolete. These are very short Glosses I have made upon them ; and not the hundredth Part of what might be said : but I thought them a very proper Foundation to ground my Expedient upon, which lies but in these three Proposals.

The First is, Let those Things that are indifferent in their *Nature*, be left so in their *Use*, that those that like them may have them, and those that do not may let them alone ; and so both the *Strong* and the *Weak* would be provided for.

The Second is, that the Powers given to Ecclesiasticks by the *Laws* of the Land, be distinguished from those which are *given by Christ* : that Room may be left for Distinction between what is *Ministerial*, and what is *Civil* and *Magistratical* : between an *Institution* of Christ the King of the Church, and the bountiful *Favours* of Christian Kings and Princes ; that the Manner of Acknowledgment or Subjection may be suited to the different Springs of Power and Authority.

The Third is, That the Publick Offices and Rituals be cleared of that which gives Offence, and not rigorously imposed. As at present they are known to be dispensed with, in many private Cases.

These are no other than what every Christian Church is obliged to by the foregoing undoubted *Apostolical Canons*. This would be a great Ease to those Consciences that now make an hard Shift to comply, and would put an End to the

Dissent of such as cannot do it at all. It would leave intire all the Things contested for, to those who prefer them ; and as to those who can comply with all things, which is no inconsiderable Number of Men, what need they dispute any thing ? They cannot at least pretend Conscience against complying with this. This, Sir, is my *Expedient* ; such an one, I think, as leaves every body in the Possession and Enjoyment of what they mostly esteem and value, *viz.* the Rituals and Ceremonies to those that have them and prefer them, and a Liberty to those that don't desire them, or cannot bear them.

No Man can be a Member of a particular Church, but by his own Consent. The Church is a Society of Men professing (at least) to be called out of the Darkness and Corruption of the World, by the Word of God, and voluntarily joining themselves together, in order to the publick Worship of God, in such a manner as they judge most agreeable to the Divine Appointment, most acceptable to God, and most effectual to the Salvation of their Souls.

Nor can a Man continue in a Church any longer, than that Consent is continued, unless a Man must be a Member of a particular Church whether he will or no. As Edification and Salvation were the only Causes of entering into a particular Church, so, if these can be no longer secured, he is as free to go out, as he was to come in, at first.

To answer these Ends, the Church must have such a Power, as is necessary to preserve the publick Worship of God in its own Society ; to use the instituted Methods of Conviction, in order to bring Men to the Belief of the necessary
Articles

Articles of Religion, and a Life conformable to them. This must of Necessity include a Liberty of professing and following their own Sentiments; exhorting, advising, and of separating from their Society, Persons that leave no Hopes of their Reformation. Now if the Church is supposed instituted for these Ends, and vested with this Power, it must have the Power of judging for it self of Mens Opinions (as they regard the Rule of Religion, by which they worship God) both as to the Truth, and as to the Importance of them. By consequence, there may be some Opinions not tolerable in a Church, that may be tolerable enough in the State. But then the Church must proceed against such Persons, whose Opinions they do not tolerate, no further, nor otherwise, than as a Religious Society; that neither has a Civil Power, nor any Claim to it. The Church may declare its Opinion both of the Error, and of the Danger of any particular Principles; but when that's done, it has no Power to hurt the erring Person, in Body, Goods, or Liberty; as it hath no Right to any outward Force, and as such Force is altogether useles to the Purposes of its Institution.

Whatsoever in Religion is truly valuable, must proceed from real and fixed Perswasion of a Man's own Mind. Men must be convinced that such and such things are revealed by God, before they can believe them, or profess to do so, unless there can be any Religion in making Men lye.

No Conviction of this kind is likely to be wrought by Force, or by inflicting any bodily Hardships. Reason and Argument, Perswasion and good Example, and Prayer, are the only
Means

14 *An EXPEDIENT for Peace*

Means proper in their own Nature, or appointed by God to this End. Christ has given no other Commission to his Ministers: And whatever Titles Men may agree to give one another, they are but Ministers, by his Commission, whatever they are pleased to erect themselves into. All Pretence to such a Power must be founded upon positive Institution, and the Order of Christ; and the Commission ought to be produced and shewn: but in Christ's Gospel, as one who thoroughly foresaw how ready Men were to claim such a Power as this over the Consciences of others, we do not only find no such Commission at all, but we find many Prohibitions against affecting it, or pretending to it. It is forbid by Christ, *Mark 22. 24. The Princes of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them, but ye shall not be so. Luke 10. 42, 33. But Jesus called them to him, and saith unto them, Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles, exercise Lordship over them, and their great ones exercise Authority upon them: But so shall it not be among you.* And it is disclaimed by the Apostles, *The Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal, but spiritual, &c. Not for that we have Dominion over your Faith.*

And who can give Ministers, as such, any spiritual Jurisdiction over my Temporals? Their Commission is to *preach, exhort, rebuke, with all Long-suffering and Patience.* And they have no Patience to do the Work of the Ministry, who want the quicker Way by the *Magistrate.* To ruin Families, to plunder Houses, to murder Men, or pick their Pockets, or to imprison those that either refuse to hear, or hearing are not converted, is such a Sense of that Text, *Let*
him

him be to thee as an Heathen and a Publican, as the Heathen and Publicans never felt from the Apostles, and much less should Christians from one another.

As for the Pretensions drawn from that Place, *Whatsoever ye (Apostles) bind on Earth (or teach to be Duty and my Will) shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever you loose on Earth (dismiss the Observation of, acquit from the Obligation to) shall be loosed in Heaven*; 'Tis flying in the Face of this Text directly, to *bind* upon Christians what the Apostles have *loosed* them from: It is to pretend to *bind on Earth*, what is already *loosed in Heaven*. There is no more of that Sort of *Power* in this Text, that is pretended to, than there is of *Trigonometry*. The Apostles having Divine Authority and Inspiration, attested by Miracles, were fully impower'd to settle, order, constitute, and fill up, what was wanting, or what the State of the Christian Church made needful: And it was much the same thing with the other Commission, of *teaching whatsoever I have commanded*: But how from these, or such like Words, can be derived a Power of Teaching or Imposing, what neither Christ nor his Apostles have commanded, and of binding upon Earth what is expressly loosed by the Apostles, and consequently in Heaven, is as unintelligible, as it would be to infer the Use of Images from the *Second Commandment*, or the Abridgment of the Cup in the Sacrament, from those Words, *Drink ye all of it*. For this is the Argument: What the Apostles by Christ's Spirit and Authority release or acquit from, He will stand to and confirm: But they have released from Ceremonies, and unnecessary things;
Ergo,

Ergo, He has given us the Power of imposing them.

I suppose we shall hear no more of, *Compel them to come in*, after what some others have said ; and particularly Mr. *Needham*, very lately, in his good Sermon at *Cambridge* upon those Words. To *compel*, under pretence of doing good to Mens Souls, is the vaineſt Diſguiſe in the World. “ I may grow rich by Arts I take no
“ Delight in ; I may be cured of ſome Diſeaſes
“ by Remedies I have no Faith in, or liking
“ to ; but a Man cannot be ſaved by a Religion
“ he diſbelieves, nor edified by a Worſhip his
“ Conſcience condemns. Whatever elſe may be doubtful or difficult in Religion, *this*, I dare ſay, is no Myſtery, that no Religion which I believe not to be true, can be either true or profitable to me. Religion muſt be a voluntary and reaſonable thing, proceeding from Conviction, or it is nothing, nay worſe than nothing : As it is worſe than no Remedy at all, to cram a Medicine down a Man’s Throat, which his particular Conſtitution will certainly turn into Poyſon. What’s my Reaſon given me for, if I muſt be led by another’s, againſt my own ? So far as Evidence from another’s Reaſon convinces me, it’s my own Reaſon that leads me : But to be abuſed becauſe a Man wont be led by another’s Reaſon, againſt his own, without Evidence, is to be puniſhed for that which deſerves Reward ; *viz.* for a Man’s Integrity to his own Conviction ; and becauſe he will neither give it up, nor bely it. It is to make an honeſt Man ſo much the more miſerable, by how much the leſs he deſerves to be ſo.

When ſhall we ſee the ſame Zeal, in theſe *Compellers*, againſt Immorality and Proſanenefs ?
When

When are they as loud and vehement, in exhorting to mutual Forbearance, Charity, and Love of one another, Goodness and Holiness; (things that are as likely to belong to Christ's Religion, as any Party Distinctions;) as vehement, I say, as they are about Compliance with such things, that Christ has made no Part of his Religion?

Ministers are obliged by Office to teach Charity, Kindness, and Meekness and Gentleness, towards all Men; towards those that differ from them, as well as those who agree with them. They ought industriously to exhort all Men, whether private Persons or Magistrates, to Goodness of Spirit, and Charity: and not only to mutual *Toleration*, but mutual *Affection*. They ought to have made it their Business with great Diligence to allay and temper all that Heat, which the Fiery Zeal of some, and the Craft of others, have enkindled among us: And if any one that pretends to be a Minister of the Gospel teaches otherwise, he either understands not the Business of his Calling, or neglects it; and shall one Day give an Account of it to the Prince of Peace.

If Christians are to be admonished, that they abstain from all manner of Revenge, even after repeated Provocations and multiplied Injuries; how much more ought they, who have no Harm done them, to forbear Violence, and abstain from all manner of ill Usage, toward those from whom they receive none.

Coercion in Matters of Religion tends to destroy all good Life. For the laying such a Stress upon outward Compliance, and the using such Methods to make Men openly profess they are

C

of

of our Mind, is apt to abate Mens Care about Purity and Holiness of Life : When Men see that it is a Matter of such great Consequence, that a Man rehearses the same Confession, practises the same Modes and Gestures, and that All who will not do it must be exposed to Inconveniences, thrown under Penal Laws and Civil Incapacities ; People are tempted to think that these things are of greater Importance than they really are ; and that there is something peculiarly good in Professing an Assent and Consent to them. And it is of ill Consequence to the Christian World, for People to think that there is more of Religion in what they *believe*, than in what they *are* and *do* ; and in a Set of Notions, and Turn of Mind and Opinion, than in the Frame of the Soul, and the Course of Life. A Man that has no Exceptions to make against a Bundle of Articles proposed to him, or a Roll of Rituals, but can comply with them in the Lump (as, by the way, any Man that makes no Conscience of any thing may, tho' he be never so defective in the common Duties of Life, and every Kind of Morality) we yet see, is accounted a much better Man, more worthy of Esteem, Encouragement, Trust and Regard, than the best Christian that scruples such Subscriptions and Declarations.

Imposing and bearing hard upon the Consciences of Men, is not only opposite to all those Scriptures that oblige to Forbearance and mutual Allowances : but have been, and are, the common Causes of those Separations and Divisions, which the major Part usually call *Schisms*. For this take the Words of the Incomparable Mr. *Chillingworth*, Chap. 4. §. 16. “ This pre-
sumptuous

“ *sumptuous Imposing of the Senses of Men upon*
 “ *the Words of God, the special Senses of Men*
 “ *upon the general Words of God, and laying*
 “ *them upon Mens Consciences together, under*
 “ *the equal Penalty of Death and Damnation ;*
 “ *this vain Conceit, that we can speak of the*
 “ *Things of God better than in the Words of*
 “ *God ; this Deifying our own Interpretations,*
 “ *and tyrannous Enforcing them upon others ;*
 “ *this restraining the Word of God from that*
 “ *Latitude and Generality, and the Understand-*
 “ *ings of Men from that Liberty wherein Christ*
 “ *and the Apostles left them ; is and hath been*
 “ *the only Fountain of all the Schisms of the*
 “ *Church, and that which makes them immor-*
 “ *tal ; the common Incendiary of Christendom,*
 “ *and that which tears in Pieces—not the*
 “ *Coat, but the Bowels and Members of Christ :*
 “ *Ridente Turcâ, nec dolente Judeo. Take away*
 “ *these Walls of Separation, and all will quickly*
 “ *be one : Take away this Persecuting, Burning,*
 “ *Cursing, Damning of Men, for not subscribing*
 “ *to the Words of Men as the Words of God :*
 “ *Require of Christians only to believe Christ,*
 “ *and to call no Man Master but him only : Let*
 “ *those leave claiming Infallibility, that have*
 “ *no Title to it ; and let them that in their*
 “ *Words disclaim it, disclaim it likewise in their*
 “ *Actions : In a word, take away Tyranny,*
 “ *which is the Devil’s Instrument to support*
 “ *Errors, and Superstitions, and Impieties in*
 “ *the several Parts of the World, which could*
 “ *not otherwise long withstand the Power of*
 “ *Truth ; I say, take away Tyranny, and re-*
 “ *store Christians to their just and full Liberty, of*
 “ *captivating their Understanding to Scripture*
 “ *only:*

“ only : and as Rivers, when they have a free
 “ Passage, run all to the Ocean, so it may well
 “ be hoped, by God’s Blessing, that an univer-
 “ sal Liberty thus moderated, may quickly re-
 “ duce Christendom to Truth and Unity.

This free and impartial Liberty would be of the greatest Service to the Interest of Truth and Religion in the World. Truth must certainly receive more Advantage than Error, by being freely looked into, and fully examined, without Restraints. Truth fears not Light, but appears brightest in full Day. Error, like other Counterfeits, always looks best in the Dark. Men at full Liberty to judge for themselves, would have no *Secular Views* to form their Principles upon ; but would be left to follow the best Evidence, and that certainly is like to be strongest on the right Side : and the Profession they make would be honest and sincere, which is the principal thing in Religion. It is a pitiful thing to see Men shy of Evidence, afraid of Light, not daring to go along with Truth wherever it would carry them, for fear it should carry them into any Inconvenience ; for fear of the Deprivations, or Hardships, it may draw after it. It cramps many a good Genius, that is afraid of enlarging his Mind, for fear of incommoding his Affairs ; and so contents himself to go in a Circle of things, without any Progress. Who can sit down impartially to study things, when the more closely, sincerely, and diligently he considers them, is the more in danger to think himself into an *Inquisition*, or out of a *good Place* ? or else must stifle and suppress his Sentiments ; or openly profess what he does not believe ; which is inconsistent with Sincerity, and consequently
 with

with the solid Peace of a Man's Mind. But this Freedom, besides the Progress of Knowledge, secures the Peace of Mens own Minds and Consciences. There would then be no Occasion for Men to contradict their inward Judgment, or even to hide and conceal their Sentiments; which both natural and revealed Religion oblige us, on certain Occasions, to profess.

Let it be taught in the Church by its Ministers, let it be enacted by the State, that no good Subject shall suffer any sort of Hardship meerly for different Apprehensions in Matters of Religion; that whatsoever is the Birth-right of a good Subject, as such, shall be common to all of that Character: And this will settle the Peace and Quiet of the Society, promote good Neighbourhood, unite People in Love and Affection, prevent Disturbances in the State, and leave no room for Schisms in the Church: when every one enjoys his own Opinion, without Hazard of being a Looser himself, or without being allowed to hurt another. Who can object against this, but those who expect Advantages from the Government upon some other Score than that of being good Subjects? *Do that which is good, and thou shalt have Praise of the same*; but it ought never to be a Recommendation to the Government, the meer doing a thing, which any Man may do, whether he be a *good Subject*, and a good Christian, or no.

'Tis not the Diversity of Opinions (that cannot be *avoided*) but the Refusal of this Liberty to those that are of a different Opinion (which might have been *granted*) that has produced all the Bustles and Wars, that have been in the Christian World, upon account of Religion.

For

For (to use the Words of a good Writer, with a little Alteration) the Heads and Leaders of Churches, moved by Avarice and the insatiable Desire of Dominion, making use of the immoderate Ambition of the Magistrate, and the credulous Superstition of the giddy Multitude, have incensed and animated them against those that dissent from themselves; by preaching to them, contrary to the Laws of the Gospel, and to the Precepts of Charity, that such Persons are to be outed of their Possessions or Privileges, and destroyed, however *good Subjects* to the Prince, in all other Respects; or of what Integrity soever in their Search after Truth: Mixing and confounding together two things, that are as different as Heaven and Earth; *viz.* the Church and State. Now it is very difficult for Men patiently to suffer themselves to be stripp'd of their Goods, which they have honestly gotten; and contrary to all Laws of Equity, both Human and Divine, for good Subjects to be put under Penalties and Incapacities, and given up to Mens Rapine and Violence; especially when they are otherwise altogether blameless and peaceful, and zealous for the Publick Good, and the present Government: And that the Occasions for which they are thus treated, concern not the Peace and Welfare of the State, and consequently do not belong to the Magistrate's Jurisdiction; but intirely to the Conscience of every particular Person, for the Conduct of which he is accountable to God only. It's abundantly evident from History, (and it can never be expected to prove otherwise) that Men in this Condition, when they have grown weary of these Evils under which they labour, take the first Oppor-

Opportunity to defend and recover their natural Rights ; which are not forfeitable upon account of meer Religion, if the State and Civil Welfare be but secured. Thus it has been, and thus it is likely to be, where the Principles of Persecution for Religion prevail ; and so long as those that ought to be the Preachers of Peace and Concord, shall continue with all their Art and Strength to excite Men to Arms, and sound the Trumpet of War. But that the Magistrate should thus suffer these Incendiaries and Disturbers of the publick Peace, might justly be wonder'd at, if it did not appear that (in those persecuting Countries) they have been invited by them into a Participation of the Spoil, and have therefore thought fit to make use of their Covetousness and Pride, as a Means whereby to encrease their own Power : for who does not see that these *Good Men* are more *Ministers* of such Governments than *Ministers* of the *Gospel* ? and that by flattering the Ambition of Princes, and Men in Authority, they endeavour with all their Might to promote that Tyranny in the *State*, which otherwise they should not be able to establish in the *Church* ? Whereas if the Church let alone the Bodies and Estates of Men, and the Magistrate let alone the Consciences and Religion, there would be no Discord nor Quarrel in the Case.

Another Benefit of just Liberty would be, that Governments would not then be obliged to rule by *Parties* : For all Parties equally finding their Interests, Peace, and Safety ; and all Birth-right Advantages, in the same Government ; and their mutual Confidence in one another, the Consequence of this Liberty ; they would with
equal

equal Cheerfulness support what all were easy and satisfy'd in : And would in time be led to expect the Favours and Honours of the Society, upon the Merit of their Character only, and not upon the Practice of such little Compliances, as perhaps they themselves now laugh at in their Heart.

The Encrease of the Trade, and Riches of the Nation, is another Consequence of this Expedient. Liberty draws Trade and Riches after it, as they flee from Tyranny and Slavery : It makes a Kingdom flourish, while Persecution naturally thins and impoverishes a People, as well as draws down the exemplary Vengeance of God some other ways. 'Tis an Observation of him that wrote *The Interest of Princes and States* *, that *there is no Popish Country in the World, but were they Protestants, would be more than of double Consideration to what they are now : as those that are so now, are so much more Rich, Great, and Formidable, than when they were under Popish Darknes ;* which proceeds from an Unaptness to Business, begot in Men by that Religion, by the Slavery they are in to the Church ; and the Incouragement given by it to Idleness, in the Multitudes of their lazy Fraternities, numerous Vagabond Pilgrims, and Holy Days. Nothing makes Places desolate and abandoned, like Violence and Persecution : Nor on the other hand, does any thing give such a vigorous Complexion to the Body Politick, nothing so much heartens Trade, encourages Industry, and mutual Confidence, which are the Spirits and Vitals

* Publish'd 1680.

of a Kingdom, as this Liberty, that assures them, that People are not labouring for the Spoilers. To this purpose, it is the Remark of an eminent Traveller, † “ That notwithstanding *France* and *Italy* are incomparably more rich in themselves, and better furnished with all the Pleasures and Conveniencies of Life, than *Switzerland*, that lies between both ; yet the last is much better peopled, and has every where all the Marks that can be looked for of Plenty and Wealth ; while the two former are in a manner dispeopled, and reduced to that Misery and Poverty, that appears in all the Marks in which it can shew it self. Such is the Effect of living at ease, under a gentle Government, instead of Tyranny and Oppression. For, as that Excellent Writer adds, *People will feel right, tho’ in the general Ideas of Government they may argue false.*

Finally, the Intercession of Protestant Powers for those of the same Denomination, in Popish Countries, would be managed with a much better Grace, and it might be hoped with more Success, when their Instances are no longer liable to so obvious a Retort, viz. that the very Intercessors themselves deny that Liberty to Persons of their own Religion, in a different Mode, which they demand the Allowance of for a Religion directly opposite.

What the Great Bp. *Stillington*, whose singular Learning is so deservedly honoured in all the Reformed Churches, hath discoursed formerly

† Burnet's Letter 1.

on this Subject, cannot be too often transcribed, viz. in the Peaceable and Christian Preface to his *Irenicum*, and in the Book it self. * “ The
 “ Laws of Christ (says that Great Man) were
 “ meek and gentle, the Duties he required
 “ were necessary, just and reasonable. He that
 “ came to take away the insupportable Yoke of
 “ *Jewish* Ceremonies, certainly did never intend
 “ to gall the Necks of his Disciples with *another*
 “ instead of it : And it would be strange the
 “ Church should require *more* than Christ him-
 “ self did, and make *other* Conditions of Com-
 “ munion, than our Saviour did of Discipleship.
 “ What possible Reason can be given why such
 “ things should not be *sufficient for Communion*
 “ with a Church, that are sufficient for eternal
 “ Salvation? And certainly those things are suf-
 “ ficient for that, which are laid down as the
 “ necessary Duties of Christianity by our Lord
 “ and Saviour in his Word. What Ground is
 “ there, why Christians should not stand on the
 “ *same Terms* now, which they did in the Time
 “ of Christ and his Apostles? Was not Religion
 “ sufficiently guarded and fenced in then? Was
 “ there ever more true and cordial *Reverence*
 “ in the Worship of God? What Charter hath
 “ Christ ever given to the Church, to bind up
 “ Men to more than himself hath done, and
 “ to exclude those from her Society, who may
 “ be admitted into Heaven? The grand Com-
 “ mission the Apostles were sent out with, was
 “ only to *teach what Christ had commanded them*,
 “ not the least Intimation of any Power given

* Preface, and Part I. chap. 6. p. 118—123.

“ them

“ them to impose, or require any thing beyond,
 “ what he himself had spoken to them, or they
 “ were directed to by the immediate Guidance
 “ of the Spirit of God. — We never read the
 “ Apostles making Laws, but of things suppo-
 “ sed necessary. When the Council of the
 “ Apostles met at *Jerusalem* for deciding a Case
 “ that disturb’d the Church’s Peace, we see they
 “ would lay no other Burden on the *Gentile*
 “ Christians *besides those necessary Things* *. It
 “ was not enough with them, that the things
 “ *would be necessary* when they had *required*
 “ them, but they look’d on an *antecedent Necess-*
 “ *sity*, either absolute, or for the present State,
 “ which was the only Ground of their imposing
 “ those Commands. There was after this great
 “ Diversities of Practice, and Varieties of Ob-
 “ servations among Christians, but the Holy
 “ Ghost never thought those things fit to be
 “ made Matters of Laws, to which all Parties
 “ should conform. All that the Apostles re-
 “ quired, as to these, was, *mutual Forbearance*,
 “ and Condescension toward each other in them.
 “ The Apostles valued not *Indifferences* at all ;
 “ and those things, ’tis evident, they accounted
 “ *such*, which whether Men did them, or not,
 “ was not of Concernment to Salvation. And
 “ what Reason is there why Men should be so
 “ strictly tyed up to such things, which they
 “ may do, or let alone, and yet be very good
 “ Christians still? Without all Controversy,
 “ the main Inlet of all *Distractions, Confusions*,
 “ and *Divisions*, of the Christian World, have

* Acts xv. 29.

“ been by adding other Conditions of Church-
 “ Communion than Christ hath done. Would
 “ there ever be less *Peace* and *Unity* in the
 “ Church, if a Diversity were allowed as to
 “ Practices supposed indifferent? Yea, there
 “ would be so much more, if there were a mu-
 “ tual Forbearance and Condescension as to such
 “ things. The Unity of the Church is an Uni-
 “ ty of Love and Affection, and not a bare Uni-
 “ formity of Practice and Opinion— * Were we
 “ but so happy as to take off things granted *unne-*
 “ *cessary* by all, and *suspected* by many, and judged
 “ *unlawful* by some, and to make nothing the
 “ Bonds of our Communion but what Christ has
 “ done, *One Faith, one Baptism, &c.* allowing
 “ a Liberty for Matters of Indifferency, and
 “ bearing with the Weakness of those who can-
 “ not bear things which others count lawful,
 “ we might indeed be restored to a true *Primi-*
 “ *tive* Lustre, far sooner than by furbishing up
 “ some Antiquated Ceremonies, that can de-
 “ rive their Pedigree no higher than some *An-*
 “ *tient* Custom or Tradition. *God will one Day*
 “ *convince Men, that the Unity of the Church lies*
 “ *more in the Unity of Faith and Affection, than*
 “ *in the Uniformity of Doubtful Rites and Cere-*
 “ *monies.*

I am, Sir, &c.

* Ep. Stillingfleet Iren. Ch. 6.

F I N I S.

ERRAT. p. 7. read the Text, *Let not him that eateth*
despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth
not, judge him that eateth.

T H E
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

N U M B. XI.

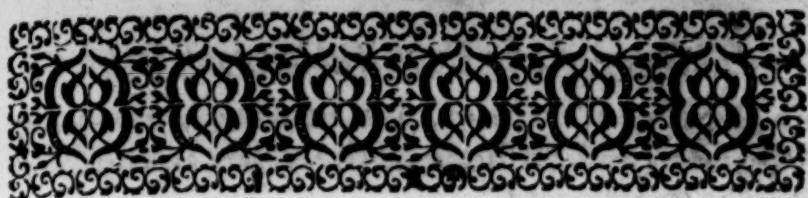
T H E
D A N G E R
O F T H E
C O N S T I T U T I O N
C O N S I D E R E D.

—For if We had the same Reasons to alter any Thing Established at the Reformation, that our Fathers had to alter the former Establishment in the Times of Popery, I should acknowledge, we had now as good Grounds to change the present, as our Ancestors had then to change the former Constitution. Burnet's Hist. Refor. Vol. III. Pref. p. 12.


L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Harrison under the Royal Exchange,
and A. Dodd without Temple-Bar. 1716.
Price 3 d.





THE
DANGER
OF THE
CONSTITUTION
CONSIDERED.

 ARTS and Sciences have their Cheats, as well as Trade and Commerce : And the Misuse of Words is attended with as fatal Consequences in Politicks and Divinity, as false Lights and false Money in common Business. When Terms, which have been us'd to signify Things of great Consequence, and which create a sort of Reverence in Mens Minds as soon as mention'd, are apply'd, by an artful Turn, to Things of quite another Nature, or of small Moment ; this has always prov'd one of the most successful Snares in Argument. Men of Reading and Study are too often impos'd upon by it ; and then

4 *Danger of the Constitution consider'd.*

no Wonder if it prevail much more upon the Weakness and Passions of the giddy unthinking Part of the World.

We have seen a Number of our Country-men held so fast engag'd by the Word CHURCH, while it has been toss'd to and fro by their designing Leaders, that they could not perceive, how they were trick'd out of their Religion, their Civil Liberties, and their very Senses themselves.

And with equal Absurdity, to what boundless Zeal and extravagant Passion are many Persons deluded, by the like juggling Use of the Word CONSTITUTION, against Things every way just and lawful in themselves, and even necessary to their own Interest and Happiness?

It may be of Service to warn People against such Methods of Deceit: For, as the great Mr. *Lock* * observes, 'This Method hath not stopp'd in Logical Niceties, or curious empty Speculations; but hath invaded the great Concernments of Human Life and Society; obscured and perplexed the material Truths of Laws and Divinity; brought Confusion, Disorder, and Uncertainty into the Affairs of Mankind; and if not destroy'd, yet in great measure render'd useless, those Two great Rules, Religion and Justice.'

When the most necessary Measures have been taken for the Publick Safety, against such Dangers as threatned all that was valuable to us; a loud Cry of the *Constitution* has been rais'd,

* *Hum. Underst.* B. 3. Ch. 10. §. 12.

Danger of the Constitution consider'd. 5

and grown strong in the Mouths of some Men who are Enemies to *our own*, as the most effectual way to cover themselves and their ill Designs against it ; or else, as the most plausible Pretence to palliate them afterwards. They hope to serve a Turn by the frequent Application of that favourite Name to such Things as cannot be within any true and honest Meaning of it.

In like manner, If the most disinterested and promising Methods be propos'd or attempted for rectifying any Disorders which are crept into the Church, or for healing its unhappy Breaches, and the firmer Union of Protestants among Themselves ; when every other Plea is silenc'd, Bigots take Refuge in the *supposed* Constitution, as a *Ne plus ultra*.

The clamorous Abuse of a good Word, naturally leads one to consider the true and proper Sense of it, that it may be seen, what Alterations really affect it ; and how far Changes may be admitted, without injuring or overthrowing any Thing valuable, which can be comprehended under the Name.

In the *State*, the principal and most proper Sense of the Word, is, to denote that Form of Power and Authority in the Society, whereby all its Publick Acts are directed and determined.

Publick Societies, though consisting of many Individuals, are yet, to the Ends for which they are united, but one Political Person ; and, as such, are to be understood as having but one Will,

6 *Danger of the Constitution consider'd.*

Will, which is to be declar'd in a certain Way agreed upon, and consented to among them. Now which way soever the Society declares the Publick Will, That is truly the Constitution : Whether by the Will of One Man, as a Sovereign Prince, which is *Monarchy* in the strictest Sense ; or by the Majority of Opinions ; either of a few rich and powerful People, which is *Aristocracy* ; or of the whole Body, or some chosen to represent the Body, which is a *Commonwealth* : or by a Conjunction of these together, which is a *Mix'd Government*. The Constitution is that Form or Method, according to which the Society acts with Supreme Authority.

Thus our Constitution consists of King, Lords and Commons. In these united, the Legislative Power has been lodg'd of ancient Date. The Supreme Power, or the intire Care of the Publick Welfare, is one way or other shar'd among Them. And to alter this Form of Government, so as to set aside any of the Parts, would be to alter the *English* Constitution.

Every Part of this Constitution hath its proper and distinct Rights, either settled by express Laws, or deriv'd from immemorial Custom. The Crown is intrusted with the Executive Power, that is, the Power of executing the Laws, and vested with many Prerogatives, in Cases not provided for by Law, or to qualify the Rigour of the Law, where unforeseen Circumstances make it unfit to be executed. The Lords are universally known to be a proper Judiciary, the Highest Court of Justice, and the
last

Danger of the Constitution consider'd. 7

last Resort in all Appeals: And the Commons to have the Power of Impeaching, Raising Money, &c. But all the Three are necessary to concur in the Legislature.

Now if any One of These should assume to it self separately the Legislative Power, or invade the peculiar Rights of another Part, without the Consent of the Whole; the Constitution must certainly be in Danger by the Attempt; and overturn'd, should the Attempt succeed.

But 'tis not properly an Alteration of the Constitution, when the Legislature makes some Change, either in the Branches of Power allotted to the several Parts of which it self consists; or in the Way and Manner by which Persons shall come into a Share of the Government. When our Kings have given up by Act of Parliament some Parts of their peculiar Power or Prerogative; the Constitution it self remains intire, and is divested of none of its Power: The only Effect is, That that Branch of Power comes to be divided in a legal Way, between Two or all the Three Parts of the Constitution, which was before lodg'd in One. So in all Times the Legislature has asserted its Right to limit the Succession of the Crown; and in Fact, has always set aside the next Heir, and advanc'd another, when it was apparently necessary for the Publick Advantage: And yet the Constitution has remained the same, as long as they chang'd not the Form of Government. And in every Age some new Provisions have appear'd necessary, and accordingly have been enacted, for regulating the Elections of the People's Representatives,

8 *Danger of the Constitution consider'd.*

representatives, without the least Infringement of the Constitution.

The Sum of what I have been saying, is this, The venerable Name of the Constitution ought in strictness to be apply'd only to our excellent Form of Government, and that wise Ballance of Power which our Ancestors have fix'd between the several Parts. This we have had the Happiness to preserve for many Generations: For this the wisest People in all the Nations round envy us; and this every honest *Englishman* would wish to have transmitted down to his Posterity.

But may some say, *Was not the Revolution upon these Principles a plain Overthrow of the Constitution? For the King never concurr'd in it; but the Nobility and Commons assum'd the Legislature to themselves, and took upon them to exclude the King, and to make a new one.*

I Answer, It is undeniable, that here was a Schism in the Constitution. Here were not the three Estates concurring in an Act, which ordinarily belongs to the Legislature. But then I affirm, that the Constitution was really overturn'd before the *Revolution*, by King *James's* assuming the sole Power of Legislature into his own Hands, when he declar'd publickly, and by a solemn Act, for a dispensing Power in himself. This, if it did not lay all the Laws in fact asleep at once, yet made them all precarious, and subject to his sole Will and Pleasure: The Two Houses of Parliament hereby were declar'd *useless*, as effectually as the Lords were by the Commons in 1648. And as an Evidence
that

Danger of the Constitution consider'd. 9

that he would exercise the Power he had claim'd, he actually and openly, by his single Authority, broke in upon several important Laws then in force. And tho' upon the first Tidings of the Prince of *ORANGE*'s Descent, he issu'd out Writs for a Free Parliament; yet he soon let the World see, that it was all a Force upon his Inclination, by re-calling them again as soon as he hop'd the Danger was over, upon the Prince's Fleet being driven back into *Holland*.

When the Constitution was thus plainly overturn'd, the Lords and Commons us'd the best Means they had in their present Circumstances to restore the Constitution; *i. e.* the concurring Interest of the Crown, and of both Houses of Parliament, in the Legislature. The Question was reduc'd to this, *Whether King James must be set aside, or the Constitution?* For he had given the fullest Demonstration that he would not be content with his own Share, but would swallow up theirs too. In this extraordinary Case, they took the only Remedy left them: They declare *for the Constitution against the King*: And since one must be parted with, they renounce Him for their King, and set Another in his Room. If they had abolish'd Kingly Government, they had destroy'd the Constitution: But instead of that, they made all the hast they could to fill the Throne, that they might stand again (as soon as possible) upon the Basis of the Constitution. They proceeded in all Things in a Method as near to the settled Rules, as that unusual Conjunction, and the Publick Safety would admit. When the King was fled, and had left none empower'd to summon a Parliament in the

10 *Danger of the Constitution consider'd.*

usual Forms; it was necessary there should be one to keep up as much of the Constitution as they could. Therefore the Lords, who are always in Being, advis'd our DELIVERER to send his Letters to the several Places which were us'd to elect the Representatives of the People, that they might return them accordingly. When these two remaining Parts of the Legislature were assembled in the *Convention*, since there was *no King in Israel*, and no other had a Right to impose a King upon Us, and the Law had made no Provision who should succeed upon an Abdication, none could have such a Right to settle the Crown as the two Estates left. This they did accordingly; and the Nation and Constitution came to it self.

This short Account of the Fact seems every Way sufficient to answer the Objection; and shew, that the *Revolution* was no Breach upon the Constitution; but a necessary Means, as Things then stood, of returning to it, when ill Men had violated it *.

Having stated the most true and famous Sense of the Word, which is the Subject of this Paper; I must observe farther, that it is sometimes apply'd, and may be so in a larger and more improper Sense, to the particular *Laws Establish'd* by the Supreme Power for the Direction and Government of the Society. The former may be call'd the *Constitution constituting*; and this the

* See Grot, de Jure Belli & Pacis. Lib. 1. cap. 4. § 13.
Con-

Danger of the Constitution consider'd. II

Constitution constituted. But every particular Law, or if you please to call it *Constitution*, is subject to the wise Review and Amendment of the Legislature in any Period of Time. Every Law in force, of what kind soever it be, till it is repeal'd, is equally a Part of the Constitution in this Sense: For it makes a Part of the Establish'd Rule, to the Observation of which the Society is oblig'd. And yet no Man doubts the Power of the Legislature in a Thousand Cases to alter the Laws in Being. And the same Sovereign Power, which can alter *some*, cannot be debarr'd for the same Reason from repealing *any* particular Statutes that are judg'd fit to be repeal'd.

Upon this Ground 'tis a Maxim in all Governments, that the Legislature can never bind it self: Not only as it has always the same Authority, and therefore may hereafter declare the Publick Will with as much Validity as at present: But principally because the End of Government is to provide for the Good of the Society in all future Cases as well as in the present; and to have the National Will and Power in readiness from time to time to act in such a manner as shall be most for its Service. The Constitution must have a Power, inseparable from it, to preserve it self: To concert and resolve upon proper Measures for the Suppression of its Enemies; and for the Encouragement and rewarding of all who are serviceable to it: And therefore to make such different Laws at different Times, as are thought necessary to these Ends.

12 *Danger of the Constitution consider'd.*

Some Laws indeed have a peculiar Solemnity ; and either by the long Prescription they have to plead, or by the general Dependence which the People have upon them as the Barrier of their Liberties, or from the constant Engagement of our Kings to maintain them, have a Sacredness stamp'd upon them beyond others ; and therefore it may be hop'd will never be violated by a good Government. Such is *Magna Charta* ; which the Nobles and Commons obtain'd and receiv'd with universal Joy from the Crown, as the Foundation and Security of all that was dear to them ; and which our Kings since solemnly Swear to maintain at their Coronation. And therefore without disputing the Power of the Legislature, even in this Case ; as the People of *England* hope there never can be found a Parliament so abandon'd from the Interest of their Country, as to give up this ancient Land-Mark ; so it would be the greatest Ingratitude to entertain any Fear that the present Government would attempt it.

How far other Laws may have a Right to perpetual Continuance upon the *Union* of the two Kingdoms, is what a private Subject ought not to determine ; but must ever be left to the Wisdom of the Legislature. Tho' what is now stipulated in favour of the *Scots*, it would seem unjust for a *British* Parliament to alter, because the other has yielded up its Power to the *English* : And for them to take the Advantage of having acquir'd a superior Strength, is to make the Weakest go to the Wall.

But

Danger of the Constitution consider'd. 13

But for other Alterations, the Supreme Power can be under no Limitation, besides a Regard to the Publick Good. 'Tis indeed the Excellence of a Constitution to be so form'd, as that it can vary it self, and bend to the Exigence of Things. It is beyond any Human Foresight to provide against all future Evils by any one Form, which should have no Reserves of Power to secure it self, when worn by Age, or embarrass'd with new and unforeseen Difficulties. If upon Trial and Experience, or by variation of Circumstances, an old Law becomes inconvenient and injurious, a Man cannot shew himself a greater Patriot than by endeavouring, in a legal Way, to have it repeal'd. I remember *Demosthenes* in one of his Orations * to the *Athenians*, to perswade them not to change any of their Laws upon small and trivial Occasions, runs so far in his Declamation, as to seem to recommend a Custom among the *Locrians*, 'That whoever propos'd to make a new Law, should do it with a Rope about his Neck, as one who must reckon upon being hang'd immediately, if his Proposition were not receiv'd.' This carries so much Absurdity in it, and must inure People to so slavish an addictedness to the old *Mumpsimus*, that if he who first propos'd this for one of their standing Laws, had done it in the same Circumstance, I should heartily have given my Vote for making him the first Instance of his own foolish Proposal.

* Adv. Timocratem. Ed. Benenati. p. 468.

14 *Danger of the Constitution consider'd.*

A mighty Clamour has been rais'd of late about the Alteration, or Suspension of some Laws, upon Occasion of the Rebellion: Such as the A^ct for *Triennial Parliaments*; the *Habeas Corpus* A^ct. We have been told with all the Gravity in the World, That these Things sapp'd our Foundations, and over-turn'd the Constitution. But nothing can be more evident, than that the Constitution, properly speaking, is not concern'd in the Matter. The only Question upon these, as upon any other particular Laws, must be about the Reasonableness and Expediency of such Alterations for the National Interest.

How can the Change of Triennial Parliaments into Septennial, be an Invasion of the Constitution; unless That be of no more than Twenty Years standing? 'Tis so far from that, that our History informs us, the Time of the sitting of Parliaments has often been alter'd by the Legislature. In King *Edward* the Third's Time it was Enacted, that Parliaments should be holden once a Year, or oftner if need were. In the 16th of *Car. I.* a Law was made, That if any Parliament should be discontinu'd above Three Years, it was *ipso facto* dissolv'd. This seem'd virtually repeal'd in the same Session, by a Law which gave that House leave to sit till it should be dissolved by A^ct of Parliament. And in the 16th *Car. II.* both were formally repeal'd, and declar'd to be in Derogation of his Majesty's just Right and Authority. The Law for Triennial Parliaments was obtain'd in the Reign of King *William*; and without doubt was esteem'd then a valuable Privilege gain'd for the
the

Danger of the Constitution consider'd. 15

the People, whatever other Views some of the chief Promoters of it at that time might have. But whether upon Trial it has been found more useful or inconvenient all along, I leave to the Consideration of those who have weigh'd the Arguments, produc'd both within and without the Parliament Doors. However, that the present State of the Nation, and the Spirit of the Rebellion, requir'd this Expedient, I believe is doubted now by very few who are well affected to our present Settlement.

For the Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, as it was evidently justified by the same Necessity ; so the tender Use which the Government has made of it, and the forbearing to continue it any longer, than 'till the Publick Ferment was laid, and the most imminent Danger over, are undeniable Evidences, that there was no farther Design in it against the Liberties of particular Subjects, than was absolutely necessary to save the Liberties and Religion of the whole Kingdom.

What had become of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, if they had not had a Power to prolong the Time of the *Consuls* beyond the usual Assignment of the Law ; and upon some Occasions, to create *Dictators* with Absolute Power, unknown to their ordinary Constitution ?

Upon the whole, I am not afraid to conclude, That the Revolution has left our old Constitution the same as it found it ; and that we have it as perfect as our Ancestors had before us : With the Advantage of a strong Example, for the Admonition of all Ages to come,

16 *Danger of the Constitution consider'd.*

come, That the Constitution of *Britain* is too stubborn a Thing, to bend long to the lawless Will of any single Person; and that if it be forc'd unnaturally to such a Bent for a Time, it will rebound with Vengeance upon the Person and the Family who attempt it.

From the *State*, let us cast an Eye upon the *Church*: The Constitution of the Church must be understood with some Difference, because of the mixt Nature of that Society.

Consider'd as a Religious Society, it has an Institution purely Religious. In that Sense, it must receive its Constitution from the Author and Founder of it: And That must be, whatever the Founder has made a constant and necessary Rule of Action to the Members of His Church. It must be past all doubt with Christians, that whatever is so establish'd, is unalterable by any Earthly Power: For there must be an equal Authority to null and supersede it, with that which establish'd it. But whatever particular Orders are made by Men, Lay or Ecclesiastical, upon Occasions or in Matters not determin'd by Christ, can be taken for no more than the particular Laws of a Government; and like others of the same sort, may be alter'd by the same Authority, without any Breach of the Christian Constitution of the Church, or the proper Constitution of the State. Whatever Powers or Privileges it owes only to Human Grants, may certainly be resum'd by the same Authority: And whatever Rules and Orders for its Acting, have only the Sanction of Human
Laws,

Danger of the Constitution consider'd. 17

Laws, may certainly be chang'd by the Legislature, if it sees Cause.

Accordingly, there have been in our Church as by Law Establish'd, many Instances of such Alterations, even since the Reformation. Any one who will take the Pains to consult the present Lord Bishop of *Lincoln's Codex Juris Ecclesiastici*, cannot want Examples enow of this kind. I'll only mention One, which fully expresses the Thing it self, and the most Authentick Sense of the Legislature upon it.

When Queen *Elizabeth* was impower'd by Act of Parliament to appoint Commissioners by her Letters-Patent: * "To visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all Errors, Heresies, Schisms, &c. which by any manner of Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power, can or may lawfully be reformed, &c." This Power was given her, "Any Matter or Cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." And when by the same Statute, all Spiritual Authority in any foreign Person or State was abolish'd out of this Realm, it is enacted, "Any Statute, Ordinance, Custom, Constitutions, or any other Matter or Cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." However, as a subsequent Statute † expresses it, "In process of Time, it was found, that divers great Mischiefs and Inconveniencies ensued to the King's Subjects by the Occasion of Commissions granted upon this Statute, and the Execution thereof." It was therefore

* 1 Eliz. 1.

† 17 Car. I. 11.

18 *Danger of the Constitution consider'd.*

enacted, " That every Word, Matter and
" Thing contained in that Branch, Clause,
" Article or Sentence, shall be repealed, an-
" nulled, revoked, annihilated, and utterly
" made void for ever ; any thing in the said
" Act to the contrary in any wise notwith-
" standing."

As far then as the Church is establish'd upon particular human Laws, it must stand upon the same Foot with all particular Laws ; and so enters not, in a strict and proper Sense into the Constitution of the State ; much less are any such particular Laws of the State in any proper Sense, the Constitution of the Church.

If Dr. *Hicks*, or those of his Sentiments, had shewn Christ's Charter for all the pompous Claims of Dignity and Power they pretend to for the Priesthood ; and that their Scheme is *the * Constitution of the Church Christian, as a Society founded independently of Worldly Power* ; I should have little to object to his Inferences, That then no Power on Earth could alter it ; no Acts of Parliament against any Part of it could oblige the Conscience ; and that it would be a noble Obstinacy in all good Christians to imitate the Primitive Martyrs and Confessors, rather than submit to any Alteration of it. But as far as his mighty Pretensions are founded only upon Ecclesiastical Constitutions, without Authority from Christ to impose them, or upon ancient Laws of the State ; I would be glad to see a Reason why the Government is ty'd up from future Alterations and Amendments of these, any more than other Laws.

* Hicks, p. 168. in *Daily Cour. Oct. 15. 1716.*

Danger of the Constitution consider'd. 19

In short, I reckon it the greatest Absurdity to suppose, that any Settlements merely Human, may not be alter'd for the better. In such Cases to say, *Nolumus Anglia Leges mutari*, is such a Stiffness, as must some time or other be the Ruin of the Constitution it self, or the Misery of the People. The Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians* must not be alter'd. One of these was, That whatever was sign'd with the King's Seal, must not be revers'd. What then ! must the poor *Jews* perish ? who, though a peaceable and profitable Part of the Kingdom, had the Misfortune to be of the same Nation with *Mordecai*, who was hated by a Court-Favourite. No ; they must not perish, nor yet can the Law be revers'd : But another must be made to set both *Jews* and *Persians* together by the Ears, and massacre one another. Poor *Daniel*, for the same Reason, though one of the best Subjects and wisest Counsellors *Darius* had, must be thrown into the Den ; even after the Prince discern'd, that his Sentence was procur'd to pass the Seal by Trick and Malice ; forsooth, because *Nolumus Persia Leges mutari* ! This is doing solid Mischief for a Whim, a meer Sound. Nothing ought to be pretended Invariable, but that which can be prov'd Infallible, or at least, pretends to be so. The highest Commendation any human Contrivance is capable of, is, that it is so fram'd, as to be able to turn it self to all Points, and supply every Defect, as fast as it is discover'd. He is a Fool of a Pilot, who will not alter his Course, as the Sands by Winds and Waves have chang'd their Situation.

F I N I S.



ADVERTISEMENT.

Any kind of Letters, Essays, Extracts out of valuable Authors, or Intelligence of any Affairs which may serve the first declared Intention of this Paper, will be thankfully received, if directed to the Author of the Occasional Paper, to be left at North's Coffee-house, Kings-street, near Guild-hall, London, Post paid.

Lately Publish'd,

THE *Occasional Paper*. Number I. An Essay on Bigotry. Price 3 d.

Number II. The Character of a Protestant. Price 3 d.

Number III. Containing, 1. Protestant Principles concerning Civil Government. 2. A brief Answer to the Charge of Sedition, urged by the Papists against the Protestants in *Germany*. 3. An Attempt to state Matters truly, with reference to our 30th of *January*. To which is added a Supplement, being some farther Thoughts on the 30th of *January*. Price 4 d.

Number IV. An Expedient for Peace among all Protestants. In a Letter to the Author of the *Occasional Paper*. Price 3 d.

Number V. The Excellence of Virtue appearing in a Publick Character. Price 4 d.

Number VI. The Danger of the Church considered. Price 3 d.

Number VII. The Nature and Obligation of Oaths. Price 3 d.

Number VIII. Letters to the Author. Price 3 d.

Number IX. Of Censure. An Essay. Price 3 d.

Number X. An Expedient for Peace among all Protestants. In a Second Letter to the Author of this Paper. By the same Hand that writ the Letter publish'd in Number IV. Price 3 d.

All sold by J. Harrison at the Royal Exchange, and A. Dodd without Temple-bar.



THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

N U M B. XII.

SOME
REMARKS
On a late
PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,
*The CHURCH of ENGLAND the sole
Encourager of FREE THINKING, &c.*

WITH
A LETTER to the *Author of this Paper* ;
fully Confuting the chief Things insisted on
in that Pamphlet.

*— Well knowing that nothing but this wide and strong
Foundation well laid (viz. That all Christians have a
Right to look into the Gospel Themselves ; to depend upon
Christ alone for their Religion ; and upon his final Determi-
nation alone for their Salvation ;) can effectually guard a-
gainst those Schemes or Platforms of a Superstitious Ty-
ranny, which may to some appear harmless at first ; but
from which in Truth the whole dreadful Fabrick of Popery
hath by degrees grown up to its full Strength and Maturity.*

Bish. Bangor's Preservative. Pref.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Harrison* under the Royal Exchange,
and *A. Dodd* without Temple-Bar. 1716.

Price 3 d.



ADVERTISEMENT.

Any kind of Letters, Essays, Extracts out of valuable Authors, or Intelligence of any Affairs which may serve the first declared Intention of this Paper, will be thankfully received, if directed to the Author of the Occasional Paper, to be left at North's Coffee-house, Kings-street, near Guild-hall, London, Post paid.

Lately Publish'd,

THE *Occasional Paper*. Number I. An Essay on Bigotry. Price 3 d.

Number II. The Character of a Protestant. Price 3 d.

Number III. Containing, 1. Protestant Principles concerning Civil Government. 2. A brief Answer to the Charge of Sedition, urged by the Papists against the Protestants in Germany. 3. An Attempt to state Matters truly, with reference to our 30th of January. To which is added a Supplement, being some farther Thoughts on the 30th of January. Price 4 d.

Number IV. An Expedient for Peace among all Protestants. In a Letter to the Author of the *Occasional Paper*. Price 3 d.

Number V. The Excellence of Virtue appearing in a Publick Character. Price 4 d.

Number VI. The Danger of the Church considered. Price 3 d.

Number VII. The Nature and Obligation of Oaths. Price 3 d.

Number VIII. Letters to the Author. Price 3 d.

Number IX. Of Censure. An Essay. Price 3 d.

Number X. An Expedient for Peace among all Protestants. In a Second Letter to the Author of this Paper. By the same Hand that writ the Letter publish'd in Number IV. Price 3 d.

All sold by J. Harrison at the Royal Exchange, and A. Dodd without Temple-bar.

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

N U M B. XII.

SOME
REMARKS
On a late
PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,
*The CHURCH of ENGLAND the sole
Encourager of FREE THINKING, &c.*

WITH
A LETTER to the *Author of this Paper* ;
fully Confuting the chief Things insisted on
in that Pamphlet.

*— Well knowing that nothing but this wide and strong
Foundation well laid (viz. That all Christians have a
Right to look into the Gospel Themselves ; to depend upon
Christ alone for their Religion ; and upon his final Determi-
nation alone for their Salvation ;) can effectually guard a-
gainst those Schemes or Platforms of a Superstitious Ty-
ranny, which may to some appear harmless at first ; but
from which in Truth the whole dreadful Fabrick of Popery
hath by degrees grown up to its full Strength and Maturity.*

Bish. Bangor's Preservative. Pref.

L O N D O N :
Printed for *Harrison* under the Royal Exchange,
and *A. Dodd* without Temple-Bar. 1716.
Price 3 d.

OCCASIONAL PAPER.

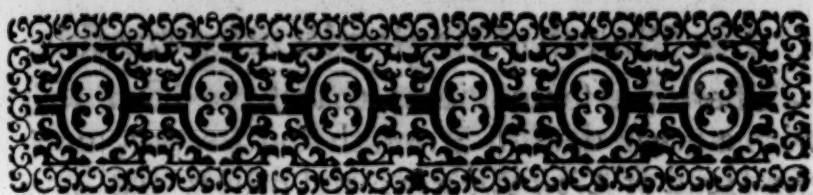
EX 8 M U M

340

1894



1911



SOME
REMARKS

On a late
PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,
*The CHURCH of ENGLAND the
sole Encourager of FREE THINK-
ING, &c.*

THE Occasional Paper stands
professedly * engaged to serve
the Cause of *Truth, Liberty,*
and *Freedom of Thought.* And
I have had no small Pleasure,
in observing how many Trea-
tises, of one kind or other, have come from the
Press since the publishing my first, which have
happily conspir'd to promote the same just and
generous Sentiments.

* See the large Advertisement, publish'd at the End of some
of the first Occasional Papers.

4 *The Church of England's being the sole*

There are some Pieces that have been writ with a great deal of Strength and Beauty, upon the Head of *Civil Liberty*; and others that have appear'd to very great Advantage upon the Argument of *Liberty in Matters of Religion*; and I must confess my self transported to read such a Treatise as the Bishop of *Bangor's* Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Non-jurors, on both these Accounts. There we see what those Sentiments are, that must make both Church and State Easy and Happy.

I was in hopes to have met with something of the like Nature in that Pamphlet the Title Page of this Paper promises Remarks upon: But I cannot forbear declaring my self to be under a Disappointment, the greatest, of that kind, I ever knew in my Life.

If I had not been more concern'd for the Honour of the true Protestant Church of England, than the Author of that Essay seems to be, I should have thrown By his learned Performance with my first Thoughts of it: That it was originally a Sermon, deliver'd to some Audience where the Preacher thought he reign'd enough to say any Thing; but was afterwards sublim'd into an Essay for the Use and Entertainment of those who might not have the Art of Proving Things as this Writer imagines he has done: To put on an assuming Air, and boldly to assert what may serve his Turn, is this Man's Way of producing Proofs. I really blush'd for him, to think what would become of him, if He should be forced to pursue the common Methods of maintaining what he has asserted: And was vex'd to think of the Advantages he had given both to Papists and Presbyterians, if either of them

Encourager of Free-thinking, consider'd. 5

them should resolve to enter the Lists with him.

I wish such Writers as He would be quiet, and not hinder the good Effect of those Labours of our learned Men that he boasts of; from which the Church must certainly gain great Advantage, were not their Writings so ill judg'd, and represented as they are, by Men of our Author's Temper, and Turn of Mind.

To make the *Encouragement of Free-Thinking* that *Mark of a true Church*, which distinguishes the Church of England from all others, must be the Contrivance of one that knows little of Religion, of the World, or even of the Constitution of his own Church.

I shall not plead the Cause of any of those *Sects, or Adversaries* of the Church of England, this Position is levell'd against: Let them, if they please, speak for themselves: But I wish, for the sake of those Differences now amongst Us, on a Political Account, that this Essay Writer had put some Things he has mention'd, in a clearer Light; or else, that he had let them alone.

Those who are in the Interest of the present Government well know, That it is a *Popish Stratagem*, to set one Branch of Protestants against another. And one would think, that by this Time there should not be found a Country Curate so Ignorant as to need telling of this. 'Tis also a manifest Proof of a little, narrow Spirit, and a Spirit that is utterly estranged from the Charity, and Enlargedness of true Christianity, to aim at raising a Reputation to *ones self*, or to a particular *Party*, meerly upon the degrading and running down of *others*.

6 *The Church of England's being the sole*

So that to put the Case of the Church of *England's* Encouraging Free Thinking, as a true Protestant, a good *Englishman*, and a Friend to the present Government would have done, it should be stated thus: The Church of *England*, as a Branch of the Protestant Interest, does necessarily assert a Liberty of Thinking and Judging for ones self in Matters of Religion: Without this Popery must still have prevail'd among us. Many of the true Sons of the Church of *England* have done worthily in Writing, Preaching, and upon many publick Occasions arguing for this Liberty. The Form of Government under which we live, and the Care that has been in the Legislature to maintain the Civil Liberties of the People, has in a peculiar Manner contributed to secure a greater Freedom in Matters of Religion than could otherwise perhaps be expected. And it is the Glory of that Family in which the Crown is now settled, and of those who are entrusted with the Administration of publick Affairs at present, to wish for, and endeavour to bring about the Enlargement of those Foundations on which we stand: 'Tis the manifest Tendency of all their Proceedings, to rescue us from Those that would Lord it over our Faith, our Consciences, our Estates, and all that's dear to us; that They may render us a more Free, Flourishing, and Happy People.

In some such Way as this, our Author might have shewn the Advantages for Free Thinking which the Members of the Church of *England* have; without pretending to set at nought all other Protestant Churches; and at the same time to expose his Cause, by insisting on Things that will not bear to be examin'd.

This

Encourager of Free-thinking, consider'd. 7

This indiscreet Man has unhappily instanc'd in those things as Proofs of his Assertion, that are at present most liable to Exception, and indeed do generally turn most directly against him.

He first instances in the *Education of Youth, as intrusted with our Clergy, and as having a free and liberal Education in our Universities.* Of this I believe the Author will have enough by and by.

After this he does not produce one Instance of encouraging Free-thinking *peculiar to the Church of England*; but either insists on those things, which Other Protestant Churches have in *common* with her, or in which they *excel* her. Has the Church of *England* the *Holy Scriptures in a Language commonly spoken and understood*? So have all the Protestant Churches as well as she.

Further, Are the Writings of the *Primitive Fathers, Councils, and Historians*, consulted and understood in *England*? So they are in *Holland, Germany*, and amongst other Protestants. And give me leave to tell this Author, that in the earliest and purest Ages, the *Primitive Fathers* represent Christianity without the Dignities and Orders, the Rites and Ceremonies of modern Times; and in a Plainness and Simplicity which much better agrees to other Protestant Churches than the Church of *England*. As to the *Translations of the Fathers* by our *English Clergy* this Author boasts of, it happens very unluckily, that the exactest Account of the first Christian Churches, and that which is more generally read than any other, was wrote by One, neither of the Clergy, nor at that time of the *Establish'd Church*.

Again,

8 *The Church of England's being the sole*

Again, he boasts that all the *Doctrines, Articles, Canons, Discipline, and Terms of Communion in the Church of England, are fully and freely publish'd*: And would insinuate, that what relates to the *Faith and State of Foreign Churches* is kept secret. He do's not here see it fit to own that the *Confessions of their Faith* are all publish'd, and the several *Articles* as freely and fully explain'd, and debated upon, as in *England*. As for *Canons* indeed, they are mostly content with those contain'd in *Scripture*: And as for *Terms of Communion*, they profess to make no other, but what the *Bible* makes: In these things therefore they are so far from having any *Secrets*, that they are only guided by the common *Rules* which equally concern all *Christians*. Beside, the *Church of England* does not publish her *Articles and Terms of Communion*, that they may be *disputed*, but that they may be *comply'd with*: And insists on a thoro' *Compliance* with an unyielding *Rigour*. This very thing has long and loudly been exclaim'd against by Men of Learning, Piety, and Temper, that have yet steadfastly adher'd to the *Communion of the Church of England*.

Another Instance produc'd for the *Church's* encouraging *Freedom of Thought*, is, that she takes care to let her *Members* know what she rejects, as well as what she enjoins. That is, (if this *Champion* speaks truly for her) she rejects every thing that might enable her to hold *Communion* with other *Churches*. Here he mentions some *Books* our *Clergy* translate, which may acquaint *People* with the *Doctrine and Discipline* of other *Churches*: Tho' he has just before made it something peculiar to the *Church of Eng-*

Encourager of Free-thinking, consider'd. 9

England to publish her *Doctrines*, &c. Such is the Inconsistency this Man's Temper and Zeal lead him to. Thus again he would have it set down to the Honour of the *Church of England*, that the *Press* is open, and that there is a general Liberty both in Speaking and Writing: And yet the very next Page laments the *Licentiousness of the Press*; and is so angry with some *Gainsayers of Antiquity*, that he says the Church is well inclined to *interpose, and exert her Authority*. "For (continues this mighty Advocate) " *she has an Authority* (tho' not an Authority to " erect an *Inquisition* :) And yet some are apt to " distinguish even the lowest Degree of *Autho-* " *rity* by that Name. One would suspect the lowest Degree of what he calls Authority, is something so like an *Inquisition*, that he found it necessary to insert that *Parenthesis*. And to crown all, such has he made the Freedom of this Church in declaring what she rejects, that rather than part with the *smallest Article or Ceremony*, all Objectors must be rejected at once, as fully answered; and many of 'em presently call'd hard Names, *Enthusiasts, Railers, Canters, and despicable Writers*; hereby plainly demonstrating, " that no Man is debarr'd of his just Privileges " by the *Church of England*, nor depriv'd of the " due *Freedom of Controversy*.

The *Sixth* Instance is worth all the rest, were it possible to make it out, " that the " *Church of England* has such a *Readiness to rectify* " *Mistakes, and to lay aside her Corruptions*, as this Author pretends. But I doubt, if we must judge by this *Mark*, we shall find the *Church of England* the least Encourager of Free Thinking of any Protestant Church in the World.

10 *The Church of England's being the sole*

Was not the present Constitution settled at first by a *single Vote*, and that a Proxy? against the prevailing Sense of the best Men in the Convocation, and with the whole Weight of the Court Interest on that Side? Now upon this the Dissenters ask, What one Error or Mistake has ever been rectify'd since? I wish the Author I am remarking upon had help'd us to answer the Dissenters (instead of calling them Names) when they put such Questions as these to us. What one Concession for Peace, or what further Amendments have been made, as the first Reformers intended and desired, and recommended to those who came after them? Did the *Church of England*, contrary to Nature and the Reason of things, arrive at absolute Perfection all at once? Did she rise out of the Darkness of Popery, to the pure State of the first Apostolical Churches, all of a sudden? If not, where is her *Readiness to rectify Mistakes*, and *lay aside her Corruptions*, when she obliges her Members not to attempt any farther Alterations? I wonder what this Man will say, after he has given such a Handle to the Dissenters, to hear 'em go on and tell him; That at the *Restoration* the *Terms of Conformity* were raised to serve the Purposes of the Court, instead of being amended, and brought nearer to the Scripture Model: and that a Design was most industriously pursued to keep Men of the greatest Probity and Conscience out of the Church. They will also urge, that at the *Revolution* the *Royal Commission* was evaded by the High Spirit, and unreasonable Stiffness of some of the *leading Clergy*. It was a Question put to me, by one that had read the *Essay* now before me, "What does this Gentle-

" man

Encourager of Free-thinking, consider'd. 11

“ man mean by the *Church of England's* reforming
“ so often already, who never yet made a single
“ Advance since the first Reformation; unless
“ he thinks She reform'd too far at first, and
“ has gone back again toward Popery every step
“ She has made since?” I wish this Author
would produce any Thing that is just, and which
he can, if there be Occasion, support, in Answer to this. Till he do's so, I must be of the
mind of that *Clergyman* who has lately printed a
Letter to the Reverend Mr. Peers, Vicar of Faringdon, Berks; occasion'd by his Character of an Honest Dissenter, in Twelve Marks: “ That
“ weak Arguments betray the Cause they are
“ brought to support; and that our Church has
“ suffered (and unless more Care be taken in
“ the Choice of her Champions, is likely to
“ suffer) more by the Folly of its Friends, than
“ by the Malice of its Enemies.

The last Instance this Author insists on, is,
That there are several of the first, and Divine Rights of our Church, in the Exercise of which, great regard is had to the Examination and Trial of private Persons. Now this every one knows to be such a Matter of *meer Form* in it self, and it appears such a Juggle in the Way of its being alledg'd in this Essay, that there is no wise Friend of the Church but must be asham'd of it. In the *Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, this *Man* says the People are call'd upon to object against the *Persons propos'd*; but can he produce one Example of a *Layman's Testimony* being regarded against the Qualification of a *Priest or Bishop*? And if not, what has he done, but reproach'd the Church instead of honouring it? Unless he will say, that to shew the People the Ruins of an

12 *The Church of England, &c.*

Antient Right is a Thing to be boasted of. This, with other Instances of the like Nature, made me presently apply another Passage of the forecited *Clergyman*, " That however some " Things may be talk'd of *in Sermons*, yet they " ought never to appear *in Print*.

As to the *Parties* against whom all these doughty Arguments are applied, I shall *not* concern my self about them. Nor indeed had I at all medled with this Essay Writer *himself*, were it not to introduce the following Letter.





To the Author of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

S I R,

“ F you think the Papers I herewith
“ send you will bear a publick
“ I View, I desire you will insert
“ ’em in your next. I confess
“ I have an Ambition to bear my Part in a
“ Work which is likely to contribute so much
“ to the advancing of *English*, and Christian
“ Liberty: The World has almost lost the
“ Sense of these Blessings: Which is not very
“ strange, considering that artful Men, whose
“ Interest it is to keep us low, and ignorant,
“ have it in their Power to perswade us, that
“ all Regard to Civil Rights is Sedition, and a
“ Concern for the Honour of Jesus Christ, and
“ the Rights of his Subjects, is Schism. But
“ that the People may be undeceiv’d, to the
“ Confusion of their Leaders, and the Joy
“ of good Men, pray Sir, go on and prosper.
“ I am,

&c.

THE true Worth and Value of Learning,
arises from the Purposes it is made to serve:
Like Power and Wealth, ’tis capable of becoming
either Beneficial, or Destructive to Mankind.
This Consideration has led me to prefer Anti-
ent

ent before Modern Learning, notwithstanding all that has been urged to the contrary. I see that the Learning of the Antients is directed to a nobler End than ours is: That a Spirit of Liberty, and good Will to Mankind, with a due Regard to the Laws of their Country, runs thro' all their Writings. They were sensible of the Dignity of Human Nature, and of their Obligation to preserve it; and therefore oppos'd every Principle that had the least tendency to debase or enslave it. We find 'em speaking with the utmost Detestation of a State, which, as it knows *no* Distinction between Men; (but lays the Man of Letters and the Sot, the good Husband and the Debauchee, equally at the Mercy of brutal Power) so it makes but a very small difference between Them and the Beasts that perish. The Doctrine of *Slavery*, in particular, was abhor'd by the *Literati* of *Rome* and *Athens*: While the dirty Work of delivering their fellow Creatures to Misery in *this* Life, under pain of greater in the *next*, was reserv'd to our *modern Divines*. 'Tis, indeed, a melancholly Consideration, that the *Devil* should fix his Empire in this World (for surely none but he will offer at an *unbounded Power* to do *Mischief*) upon the Foundation of the *Gospel*: Yet if we are to believe the generality of our *Tory Divines*, this is the Case; since all the Pretences they make to Passive Obedience, they tell us, are grounded on the Scripture.

Now, why do the *Roman* and *Grecian* Worthies breath Liberty, while the *English Divines* preach Unlimited Obedience? Why do those prefer Death to Slavery, while these flatter their
 their

their Princes into Tyranny; and lead their Hearers to Rags and Beggary?

The Difference plainly arises from the different Methods of *Education* between us. The former consider'd it as a Means to make People *wiser* and *better*, the latter are only listing Numbers into their several *Parties* by it; The former, therefore, had not Truth settl'd for 'em *before they were born*, from which it should not be lawful, upon the strongest Conviction to the contrary, to recede: And as they did not expect an unfeign'd Assent and Consent to a Set of Propositions in themselves very disputable; so it could not enter into their Heads to oblige Persons to *declare* that Assent before they could possibly have *consider'd* 'em, or did *understand* 'em: Such a Method they knew was utterly inconsistent with the very Thing their Schools were design'd to advance; which was an impartial Inquiry into, and a resolute Defence of *Truth*: Since 'twas needless and ridiculous to search for what had been discover'd, perhaps, some Ages before their Time; nay, what themselves were fully satisfy'd of, (at least declar'd they were) at the beginning of their Studies. Besides, they thought it barbarous dealing, to list their Pupils blindly into a Service, and oblige 'em to determine themselves in Matters of any Importance, at *an Age* when Experience shews they have not Discretion for the common Concerns of Life.

But whatever the Antients thought of the Matter, we know a modern famous *University*, where, *Aristoteles ipse dixit* determines all Questions in publick, and a traiterous Decree serves

† serves to regulate all Disputes in private.

I wish for Their sake, and the Nations, this was the worst can be said of 'em, with relation to implicit Assent. But they have one Practice * among 'em, justify'd indeed by a Statute of their own, which I must not pass over; and which, for the Folly and Knavery of it, equals, or rather comprehends all the Juggle, and unwarrantable Imposition of the *Romish Church*; They oblige *Boys* at their Matriculation, if twelve Years of Age, to subscribe the *Thirty Nine Articles* of the *Church of England*!

To those Articles, upon which so many Volumes of Expositions have been written; so many intricate Questions mov'd: which have divided the learned Men of the Church in all Ages since the Compiling of 'em; to those must School-Boys give their full and unfeign'd Assent? Now how inhuman is this? The Common and Civil Laws, in tenderness to Infants, will not suffer them to bind themselves so much as by Note of Hand for Half a Crown. But these University Tyrants, (such is their Zeal for Orthodoxy, and Contempt of Truth) make no scruple of ensnaring their Pupils, by Subscriptions, which they can't possibly be aware of when they make 'em.

One would think the very mentioning such a Practice as this did sufficiently expose it; for if we subscribe Articles of Faith because we be-

† The Decree of 1683.

* Vid. *The Statutes relating to Matriculation.*

lieve 'em, as all honest Men do; our Subscription necessarily supposes that we have a distinct Notion of the Terms of every Proposition; that we have examin'd the Reasons on both sides of the Question; and that upon the whole, the weight of the Evidence is on the side we take. Now if any one can imagine, that the Boys who enter in the University, have beforehand gone thro' the Doctrines of the Trinity in Unity, Predestination, Free-will, good Works before Grace, the Power of the Church, the Supremacy of the Crown, the Authority of the receiv'd Scriptures, and the Conduct of the four first Councils; I say, have gone through these Things, and others as difficult, which are contain'd in our Articles; and can give a rational Account of their belief of them; if any one can imagine this, he may swallow *Transubstantiation*, or *unlimited* Obedience to a *limited* Power, or any Position as absurd. But if one should take the Freedom with these Orthodox Youths, to suppose they are, at least at their Admission into the University, as ignorant of these Things as other Children are; what an Opinion must one entertain of their Masters, who require that of their *Ignorance*, which ought to arise only from a full and *thorough Conviction*? Nay, what Opinion have these Men of their Articles! Will they not bear Examination? If they will, why must People be put upon thus subscribing them blindfold? Or do they think Subscription is nothing more than Form? Or are the Articles Terms of Peace only, or Articles of Faith? One would think indeed, from this Practice, and the Conduct

of the generality of their Pulpit-Men, (who contradict above half their Subscription) that the Church had no Establish'd Rules; or that these Men thought She design'd to bind none but the Dissenters by 'em. The Practice I have been speaking of, was, I think, unknown to the Antients, and must be a great hindrance to Learning: For to what purpose should a Man examine Principles, who has already given it under his Hand that they are true.

But the Mischief does not end here: Implicit Faith is big with a thousand Absurdities: For when Men have once taken upon 'em to force your Assent to Principles you don't *understand*; for an Opinion, they pretend, you ought to have of their Learning and Integrity; the next Step is, to impose upon you what you don't *believe*. So the *Romish Church* settl'd Infallibility; and then introduc'd Transubstantiation: And our *University*, from the Doctrine of implicit Assent, proceeded to Passive Obedience, and Indefeasible, Hereditary Right.

'Tis too evident to be deny'd, that these Doctrines have been openly preach'd, and are greedily receiv'd among 'em: And that the Society is chargeable with 'em: For She has never declar'd her Abhorrence of 'em; or so much as censur'd any one of the Multitude of Preachers who have advanc'd 'em there. No, People of that Stamp have rather been caress'd, and distinguish'd as the best Church-men. We know that *Sacheverell's St. Paul's Sermon* was preach'd before the

the *University*, at least Four Years before the Experiment was try'd in *London*: And that he lost no Reputation by it in that Place. But we need none of these Arguments to fix the Charge upon Her, out of Her own Mouth She is condemn'd.

There is a *Decree* of that Seat of Learning and Loyalty still extant; pass'd in a silent Manner in Convocation; and at this Time to be seen hanging up in their Halls and Libraries; which carries these pernicious Doctrines, to as great an height as any Pulpit has done*. This Libel, tho' 'tis directly contrary to the Law, and constant Usage of the Kingdom, as well as destructive of the Rights of Mankind; tho' it condemns the Revolution, and denies his present Majesty's Right to the Crown; yet in open defiance of Law, and contempt of their own Oaths, is at this Day avow'd by 'em. Young Men are referr'd to it for Satisfaction in Political Disputes: And it has once gone abroad

* It declares that these Propositions, viz. If lawful Governors become Tyrants, or govern otherwise than by the Laws of God or Man they ought to do, they forfeit the Right they had to Government. Prop. 3. The Sovereignty of England is in the Three Estates, viz. King, Lords, and Commons. Prop. 4. Birth-right, and Proximity of Blood give no Title to Rule or Government; and it is lawful to preclude the next Heir from the Right of Succession to the Crown. Prop. 5. Are False, Seditious, and Impious ——— Destructive of all Government in Church and State: ——— See the whole printed in *Sacheverel's Trial*, p. 235, 236, 237, 238, of the *Octavo Edition*.

under the Title of *An entire Confutation of Mr. Hoadly's Book, &c.* Nay, what aggravates the Insolence of continuing the printed Copies of it in their publick Places, is, that the House of Lords have pass'd a severe Censure on it: That August Body have condemn'd it, as containing * several Positions contrary to the Constitution of this Kingdom, and destructive to the Protestant Succession as by Law establish'd: And order'd it to the Flames by the Hands of the Common Hangman. And yet, as if our University was above Law, and Reproof, she has never repeal'd, or so much as order'd the Copies of it to be taken down.

If this be so (as none can have the Face to deny) 'tis no wonder that so many of the Clergy of the Establish'd Church, who have their Education there, are poison'd with these Principles. There are some indeed, who are got over the Prejudices of Education, and submit to the present Government out of Principle; but these are Men of a superior Genius, who have the Courage to search for Truth, and the Honesty to profess it: Nevertheless, if we consider how difficult it is for the best to part with Principles they have been learning the greatest part of their Time; or indeed, to stand up in the Defence of Truth against the Cla-

* See the last Page of Sacheverel's Tryal — I think the Commons pass'd a Vote to the same purpose about that time, but can't now be positive.

mour of the Multitude ; and how few there are of Abilities to undergo this Task ; and especially, if we remember, that from the Moment a Man declares his Disbelief of these favourite Notions, he puts himself out of the way of Preferment, or even of common Respect there ; one must acknowledge, that tho' the King may have some Friends from that Place, yet in the ordinary Course of Things, and upon all Probabilities, it must be a Nursery for his Enemies : For if they are true to their *Principles*, they must be false to *Him*, whose Title is directly contrary to 'em.

If so, 'tis no difficult matter to say, why upon the King's Accession the People were alarm'd from the Pulpit by distant Hints of Danger, and exhorted in general Terms to behave themselves well under Persecution, but left to make the Application for themselves : Or why Passive Obedience was insisted upon with a more than ordinary Warmth, at a time when it could serve no End but to call the Justice of the Revolution in question ; and yet when an actual Rebellion was on foot in two Parts of the Kingdom, and others threaten'd with one, the Doctrine was entirely dropt. Why in the late Queen's Time they contended for Obedience to the single Commands of the Prince, tho' against Law ; and when a War was kindl'd in opposition to Law, (to the Voice of King, Lords and Commons) we heard not one Word of it.

This likewise will account for the Conduct of the famous University of *Oxford* ; for her affronting the King on his Coronation Day, by giving a Mark of her Favour to a Gentleman his
Majesty

Majesty had just then thought fit to remove from a Place of great Trust in *Ireland*; for her repeating that Affront, in chusing, of all the Peers in the Kingdom, the Brother of an attainted Rebel, and refusing the Protection of his Royal Highness the Prince, which was generously offer'd her. 'Tis from this pernicious Principle, that the Cause of the Pretender was openly and with Impunity avow'd among 'em; that his Health and Success to *Mar* and *Forster* were frequently toasted in their drunken Cabals; that the Rebellion was actually begun at * *Oxford*, by pulling down the Meeting-house on the King's Birth-Day; and that while the Rebels went unpunish'd, and grew bold in their Villany, his Majesty's Friends, who would have celebrated the Day without Disturbance, were prosecuted upon Statutes of their own in the Vice-chancellor's Court.

These things are not at all surprizing: for if Implicit Faith and Passive Obedience, the two great Engines of Popery and Arbitrary Power, are the leading Principles of the Place; what must our Youth learn there, but an Aversion to the best Government in the World, and a Fondness for the worst. And if the Foundation of Civil and Ecclesiastical Tyranny is laid in the University, 'tis no wonder the deluded Mob think all other Concerns are to give way to the Church; and that all Regard to themselves or

* I have not Time to take notice of the Cambridge Riot; she seems to envy her Sister the sole Honour of destroying Morality to secure Religion.

their Posterity, to their Laws and Liberties, are to be sacrific'd to an Interest they are not allow'd to understand, but which their Leaders know to be no other than the *Ambition* of the *Clergy*.

Jan. the 4th, 1716.

I hope the Person who sent this will take pleasure to see it placed in such a Light, wherein it may be more useful than if I had publish'd it sooner, or by it self. I mention this, because I am a perfect Stranger to the Hand from whence it comes, that my unknown Correspondent may not imagine himself slighted, nor be discouraged from giving me his further Assistance.



FINIS.





A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Any kind of Letters, Essays, Extracts out of valuable Authors, or Intelligence of any Affairs which may serve the first declared Intention of this Paper, will be thankfully received, if directed to the Author of the Occasional Paper, to be left at North's Coffee-house, Kings-street, near Guild-hall, London, Post paid.

Lately Publish'd,

THE *Occasional Paper*. Number I. An Essay on Bigotry. Price 3 *d.*

Number II. The Character of a Protestant. Price 3 *d.*

Number III. Containing, 1. Protestant Principles concerning Civil Government. 2. A brief Answer to the Charge of Sedition, urged by the Papists against the Protestants in *Germany*. 3. An Attempt to state Matters truly, with reference to our 30th of *January*. To which is added a Supplement, being some farther Thoughts on the 30th of *January*. Price 4 *d.*

Number IV. An Expedient for Peace among all Protestants. In a Letter to the Author of the *Occasional Paper*. Price 3 *d.*

Number V. The Excellence of Virtue appearing in a Publick Character. Price 4 *d.*

Number VI. The Danger of the Church considered. Price 3 *d.*

Number VII. The Nature and Obligation of Oaths. Price 3 *d.*

Number VIII. Letters to the Author. Price 3 *d.*

Number IX. Of Censure. An Essay. Price 3 *d.*

Number X. An Expedient for Peace among all Protestants. In a Second Letter to the Author of this Paper. By the same Hand that writ the Letter publish'd in Number IV. Price 3 *d.*

Number XI. The Danger of the Constitution considered.

All sold by *J. Harrison* at the *Royal Exchange*, and
A. Dodd without *Temple-bar*.

